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THE

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET;

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CRUEL CIVIL WARS BETWEEN THE HOUSES OF

ORLEANS AND BURGUNDY;

OF THE POSSESSION OF

PARIS AND NORMANDY BY THE ENGLISH;

THEIR EXPULSION THENCE;

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al

AND OF OTHER

MEMORABLE EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE,

AS WELL AS IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

A HISTORY OF FAIR EXAMPLE, AND OF GREAT PROFIT TO THE FRENCH,

Beginning at the Year MCCCC. *where that of Sir JOHN FROISSART finishes, and ending at the Year* MCCCCLXVII. *and continued by others to the Year* MDXVI.

TRANSLATED

BY THOMAS JOHNES, ESQ.

IN THIRTEEN VOLUMES.....VOL. IX.

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HERE BEGINNETH

THE NINTH VOLUME

OF THE

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET.

CHAP. I.

THE KING OF FRANCE, BEING SATISFIED THAT THE ENGLISH HAD BROKEN THE TRUCE, DECLARES WAR AGAINST THEM. —VERNEUIL IS TAKEN BY A MILLER, WHOM AN ENGLISHMAN HAD BEATEN.

THE king of France, having received full information of the warfare carried on by the English against Scotland, which was included in the truce, and of that against the Spaniards by sea, who were also included in it, as well as that on his own subjects of Dieppe, la Rochelle, and elsewhere, ever since the signing of the truce, without making any restitution whatever

for the damages done by them, more especially in the capture of Fougeres from the duke of Brittany, for which they refused to make any reparation, although often summoned by the king so to do, as well by ambassadors to king Henry as to those who had the government of Normandy: having, therefore, maturely deliberated on all these grievances in his council, and knowing that he had fully acquitted himself of his duty in endeavouring to preserve peace, he declared war against England by sea and land.

During the truce, the english garrisons of Mantes, Verneuil, and Laigny had gone on the high roads between Orleans and Paris, and had robbed and murdered all passengers and merchants that fell in their way. In like manner did the English of Neufchâtel, Gournay, and Gerberoy, on the roads between Paris, Abbeville, and Amiens: they also made inroads over the country, seizing all they could lay hands on, and murdering gentlemen in their beds, who had sworn allegiance to the king of France; such as the lord de Maillebois, the lord de St

Remy, Olivier de Noirequerque, and several more.

On the other hand, such tradesmen and labouring farmers as had, on the faith of the truce, returned to their occupations, houses, and villages, were continually harrassed and put to death by the English, who called them false Armagnac-traitors.

These were the fine exploits of the English during the existence of the truce. They were called Vizards, from wearing masks and frightful disguises over their other clothes, when they went on any such expeditions, to prevent them being discovered.

To put an end to all these deceitful proceedings of the English, the king of France assembled a large body of men at arms, as did the duke of Brittany, on their frontiers. The garrison of Fougeres made a sally on these last,—but they were repulsed so valiantly that they lost upwards of six score in killed and taken.

At this time a miller in the town of

Varneuil* was beaten by an Englishman going the rounds. In revenge, he went to the bailiff of Evreux, and promised, on certain conditions, to admit him and his men into the town. In consequence of this, sir Pierre de Brésé, seneschal of Poitou, the said bailiff of Evreux, Jacques de Clermont and others, collected their men with all haste, and appeared before the walls of Verneuil by break of day on the 29th day of July.

The miller was on guard this night, and dismissed the watch sooner than usual because it was Sunday, that they might attend mass and then breakfast. The French, by the aid of the miller, fixed their ladders to his mill, and, by this means, entered the town without any one knowing, or even suspecting it. Six score English were in garrison, some of whom were killed or made prisoners, and the rest fled in haste to the castle.

On the morrow, the miller drew off most part of the water from the ditches of the castle, which was then vigorously

* Verneuil,—a town in Normandy, diocese of Evreux.

attacked and defended,—but at last it was taken by storm. Many gallant deeds were done, particularly by the seneschal, who acquired greater renown than any other, although all fought well, for they had not any heavy artillery,—and numbers of the English were killed, wounded, and taken. The remainder took shelter in the *tour grise*, which was impregnable so long as provisions did not fail, being very thick and high, and detached from the castle, surrounded with ditches full of water. Notwithstanding its strength, the French attacked it on all sides,—and while they were thus engaged, the count de Dunois arrived with the lord de Culant and many other knights and esquires. The first had been lately appointed lieutenant-general of the armies of the king of France, — and the lord de Culant had been made grand master of the household.

Having had information that lord Talbot was on his march to relieve his countrymen in the tower, and was arrived at Breteuil†, they soon departed, leaving

† Breteuil,—a town in Normandy, near Conches.

sir Florent Dilliers, who remained to manage the siege, with about eight hundred combatants.

The count de Dunois kept advancing until he met lord Talbot near to Harcourt*, who, when he perceived the French, fortified himself so strongly, with stakes and the baggage-carts which carried his stores, that they could no way injure him. At nightfall, he retreated in haste to Harcourt. All the ensuing day the French were drawn up in battle-array in the expectation of an engagement, but Talbot would not quit the town.

The following knights were this day created: the lord de Herbault, sir John de Bar lord of Baugey, and John Daulon, equerry of the king's stables; and the French, finding that Talbot would not come out of Harcourt, withdrew that evening to Evreux.

On the sixth day of August, in this year, the king of France advanced toward Amboise, to cross the river Loire,

* Harcourt,—a town in Normandy, election of Conches, ten leagues from Rouen.

and march his army into Normandy to support the besiegers of Verneuil. The count de Dunois and his company remained two days in Evreux.

CHAP. II.

THE COUNT DE ST POL APPEARS BEFORE NOGENT, WHICH SURRENDERS TO HIM. —THE CAPTURE OF POINT-AUDEMER.

On Friday, the 8th day of August, in this year, the count de St Pol, with about four hundred† horse, came before the castle of Nogent, of whom twenty or thirty of the most valiant of the van, at the first shock, forced their way into the lower court, and gained the barriers. Fearing the cannon of the English, they instantly retreated, to wait for their companions,—but not before the portcullis had been rapidly let down, and inclosed two of their number, who were made prisoners. On

† Four hundred. In the original it is *four thousand*,—but this number appeared to me too great.

the approach of the main army, the place was courageously attacked on the side toward the fields, when many were killed and wounded on each side. The governor for king Henry was called Jean le Fevre, born near to Louviers, who had with him about thirty companions in arms.

On the Saturday, the place surrendered between eleven and twelve o'clock, on condition that the garrison should march away in safety unarmed, except the governor, who was to wear his sword. They deposited all their effects in the church of St Peter, whence they afterward came to seek and carry them away whither they pleased. The conquerors, perceiving on the Sunday that the place was not tenable, decamped, but not before they had set fire to it, and burnt it to the ground.

The same Friday, the count de Dunois marched from Evreux with a large company of knights and esquires, and two thousand five hundred combatants. Two days after, the counts d'Eu and de St Pol, the lords de Saveuses, de Roye, de Moy, de Rambures, and others, to the number of three hundred lances, and from fourteen

to fifteen hundred archers, passed Pont de l'Arche, and continued their march until they formed a junction, on the 12th before Pont Audemer, with the count de Dunois and his army. The count de Dunois was posted on the side toward Rouen, and the counts d'Eu and de St Pol nearer to Honfleur, on the other side of the river Rille, which runs by the town,—and each lord drew up his men to the attack of the place.

That part of it near to the quarters of the count de St Pol was so courageously attacked that it was carried by storm, notwithstanding the very gallant defence of the English. Many brilliant acts were done by the count de Dunois' men, who entered the place at the same time with the others, crossing the ditches with water up to their necks.

Four hundred and twenty English retreated into a strong house at the end of the town under their captains, Montfort, treasurer of Normandy, and Foucques Ebon, who surrendered themselves prisoners to the counts de Dunois and de St Pol.

Twenty-two new knights were made

on this occasion, such as the lord de Moy, the son of the vidame of Amiens, the son of the lord de Rambures, and others. Thus was Pont Audemer replaced under the obedience of the king of France.

King Charles came to Vendôme on this day, the 12th, and remained there until the 18th day of August, when he marched for Chartres, and arrived there on the 22d.

CHAP. III.

THE ENGLISH INVADE SCOTLAND TWICE, AND ARE AS MANY TIMES REPULSED*.—THE TOWER OF VERNEUIL SURRENDERS TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—OTHER MATTERS.

It was evident that Heaven was against the English,—and they were deserving of

* Under the years 1446, 47, 48, 49, 50, in Andrew's History of Great Britain, &c.

'An invasion of Scotland is attempted by the English, led by the earl of Northumberland and Mag-

it, for it is a fact that they have alway encroached on their Christian neighbours, as well in the kingdom of France as in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and elsewhere. Many violences have most unjustly been done by them, by reason of their not

nus Reidman. They are defeated at Sark† by the Scots, under the command of the lord Douglas and his brother the earl of Ormond.'

I see from Douglas's Peerage that it ought to be Archibald earl of Murray, (and not lord Douglas) third son to James VII. earl of Douglas. The earl of Ormond was his next brother.

The following extract is from Hutchinson's History of Northumberland, page 233. vol. ii.

'Henry earl of Northumberland, in the 14th Henry VI. made an unsuccessful irruption into Scotland,—and at Piperden was defeated by the earl of Angus, with the loss of 1500 men.

'In the 29th of the same reign he entered Scotland again, and engaged, near the river Sark, a large body of Scots under the command of sir William Wallace of Craigey, where he again had a defeat, and narrowly escaped being made prisoner,—his son choosing to throw himself into the hands of the enemy to save his father.'

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† Sark,—a river in Scotland formed of two branches, the white and black, falls into the Eden four miles below Carlisle.

having the words of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST before their eyes, 'Render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's, and unto God the things that be God's.'

Among their various plans of annoyance to their neighbours, they carried one about this time into effect, namely, an invasion of Scotland. The earl of Salisbury sent two lords of great renown, natives of England, sir Thomas de Hanton, knight, and the lord Percy, son to the earl of Northumberland, to wage war against Scotland. They had with them fifteen thousand combatants and a numerous body of peasants, and, crossing the river Solway, entered Scotland, where they remained three days, having advanced six miles of that country, equal to three french leagues.

When the earl of Douglas heard of this inroad, he collected, without delay, six thousand Scots, and attacked the English on the plain in open day. The battle was well fought on both sides, and many were killed and wounded; but it was won by the Scots, who kept the field, and made many prisoners: in the

number were sir Thomas de Hanton and Percy: the rest escaped as quickly as they could, to carry the melancholy news to lord Salisbury. He was very much grieved, and not without cause, but not cast down; for he instantly raised a greater army than before, consisting of sixty thousand men, thinking to destroy the whole kingdom of Scotland.

When the earls of Murray and of Ormond heard of the English having crossed the Solway with a large army, they, having the fear of God before their eyes, and finding the English determined thus conjunctly to destroy their country, took measures to oppose them; for it is perfectly lawful that every one should fight for his country. They soon, with the aid of other scots lords, assembled a force of thirty-two thousand able warriors, and, falling on the english camp unawares, put them to the rout, with great slaughter and loss in prisoners and wounded. They were pursued as far as the Solway, wherein many were drowned. The English lost in these two invasions from twenty to twenty-four thousand men in killed and prisoners.

The Scots gave all the merit of this signal defeat to God, and not to human force, for which they celebrated a thanksgiving; and, to prevent the English from being in future so eager to invade their country, they resolved to continue the pursuit into England. Having crossed the Solway, they destroyed the country, full twenty leagues in length, and six in breadth, as far as the strong town of Newcastle, without leaving a town or house on their road unburnt. On this expedition, a knight of great power in Scotland was slain, called sir John Vbouailles; and the Scots then returned unmolested home.

The account of these battles was given to the writer of the Chronicles of St Denis, at that abbey, by three scots priests of the diocese of Dunblaine, of which church one was a canon, and affirmed it for true before the holy shrine of St Denis, in the manner above related, and in the presence of the monks of that abbey.

On the 12th of August, the king of France came to Vendôme, grandly accompanied by men at arms, as well lords,

knights and esquires, as others. He remained there until the 18th; and, during this time, the lord de Lohéac, marshal of Brittany, sir Geoffry de Couren*, and Joachim Rohault and others, attacked the town of St Jacques de Beuvron with great vigour from nine in the morning until night, and, with heavy and small artillery, kept up a continual fire on the walls. It was, however, gallantly defended; but on the morrow; the English capitulated for its surrender, on being allowed to march away in safety with their effects.

On the 22d of the said month, the king of France entered Chartres; and, on the next day, the garrison of the tower of Verneuil surrendered themselves prisoners. They were but thirty, of whom the greater part were renegado French, — several having escaped a little before, carrying off all their valuables, owing to the negligence of those who had the guard during the night. Sir Florent was very much blamed for this, as the king had sent him orders, by one of his heralds, to l e

* De Couren. Couvren.——MS. Du Cange.

very attentive in guarding the place. The king, on the departure of the principal leaders, made matters easy to those who had remained, from the consideration that the place was impregnable but from want of provisions ; and he concluded a treaty with the lords de Presigny and de Baugey, for their paying a moderate ransom, on delivering up the tower to the king.

At this time, or a little after, Joachim de Rohault, with these lords who had gained St Jacques de Beuvron, took, after an attack of ten hours, the town of Mortain*. The count de Dunois, with the count de St Pol and those who had been at the capture of Pont Audemer, marched to lay siege to the city of Lisieux ; but when those within the city observed the great force brought against it, and which it was impossible for them to resist,—fearing also that, should it be taken by storm, they would lose every thing,—they held several conferences together, and, by the advice of their bishop, offered to surrender the place

* Mortain,—a town in Normandy, on the river Lances, on the borders of Maine.

to the king of France. The bishop managed so honourably and ably that not the smallest damage was done to any individual; but each peaceably enjoyed his property as before the surrender. Several small places round Lisieux surrendered to the count de Dunois at the same time.

CHAP. IV.

THE KING OF FRANCE SUMMONS MANTES TO SURRENDER,—WHICH IT DOES, AND IS TAKEN POSSESSION OF, IN THE NAME OF THE KING, BY THE COUNT DE DUNOIS, HIS LIEUTENANT-GENERAL.

On the 26th of this same month of August, and on the morrow of the feast of St Louis, the king left Chartres with a noble company, and fixed his quarters at Château-neuf-en-Timerais*, and, the same day, sent his heralds to summon the garrison of

* Château-neuf-en-Timerais,—a town in Perche, election of Verneuil.

Mantes,—which town was held and occupied against his will. While the heralds were on their embassy, the counts de Dunois and St Pol arrived with five or six hundred combatants, the same day, before the town of Mantes, and summoned the inhabitants to return to their obedience to the king of France. They at first refused, from fear of the garrison, although in their hearts they were well inclined to obey the summons,—and the lieutenant-general ordered preparations for an immediate attack.

The inhabitants noticed this, but were fearful that the english garrison, amounting to two hundred and sixty men, under the command of sir Thomas Hos*, knight, and chancellor for the king of England in these parts, would make a defence. He was indeed not in the town; but his lieutenant, Thomas de Sainte Barbe, bailiff of the place, was present, and determined on resistance as long as he could. The inhabitants, therefore, foreseeing the ruin of their town, caused the bailiff to be informed, that if he would not enter into a capi-

* Sir Thomas Hos. Q.

tulation for the surrender of the place, they should certainly do so. This they would not have dared to say, if they had not felt themselves the strongest; and the better to force the English to terms, they seized the tower and gate called the Port-au-Saint, with the whole of that quarter, and then went in a body to the lieutenant-general, and concluded with him a treaty for the surrender of their town.

The English were desirous of making resistance; and would have opposed the French, had not this tower and its defences been occupied by the townsmen. A copy of the capitulation was sent them, about four o'clock in the afternoon, by a herald accompanied by fifty men at arms, who were received by the inhabitants, and posted in this tower, to guard them against the English, should there be occasion. Although the lieutenant-governor had accepted the terms for himself and his companions the bailiffs, the count de Dunois remained with his army in order of battle before the walls from morning to evening, when he entered the place with a strong detachment, to guard the inhabitants from pillage and

other mischiefs, which men at arms were accustomed to do on similar occasions,—and also to confirm the townsmen in their loyalty and obedience toward the king.

CHAP. V.

THE KING OF FRANCE MAKES HIS ENTRY INTO VERNEUIL.—THE RECEPTION HE RECEIVES.—THE SENESCHAL OF POITOU UNDERTAKES AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE CASTLE OF LOIGNY*.—IT SURRENDERS TO THE KING, AND SEVERAL ENGLISH ARE TAKEN IN IT.—VERNON SURRENDERS TO THE KING.

On the 27th of August in this year, the king of France made his entry into Verneuil, with much pomp and grandly attended. He was received there as magnificently as possible, for the churchmen and chief inhabitants came out in procession to meet him, dressed in their best clothes and

* Loigny,—a village in Beauce.

hoods. The populace issued out also in crowds to welcome his arrival: they made bonfires, and strewed the streets with flowers in the best manner they could, singing carols day and night.

The king remained some time in Verneuil, and thither came the bishops of Lisieux and Auxerre to do him homage. During this interval, the seneschal of Poitou formed a plan to gain the castle of Loigny, held by an esquire of Normandy, called the lord de Sainte Marie, as governor for sir Francis de Surienne, called the Arragonian, the owner of this castle, and who had married sir Francis's daughter. Although the seneschal did not come before the place personally, he had practised with the governor (who had under his command two hundred combatants quartered in the lower court); so that when the French appeared, they were admitted into the dungeon, without the knowledge of the men at arms sent by sir Francis for its defence, or of his lady, who was in the castle.

The English, when they saw the French, thought to defend themselves; but finding they were too weak in numbers,

they desisted, and were, with their horses in the lower court, and all their effects, seized in the name of the king of France, except the lady of sir Francis, who departed with her baggage, much enraged at the treachery of her son-in-law. The lord de Sainte Marie was re-appointed to the government of the castle, on the terms he had held it before.

On the same day, the captain of Robert de Flocques, bailiff of Evreux, was sent with a certain number of men at arms to summon the garrison and inhabitants of Vernon to submit themselves to the king of France, by sending to him the keys of the town. The governor, John Ormond, an esquire, son to the earl of Ormond in Ireland, replied, that he would willingly do so,—and, by way of derision and mockery, sent for all the old keys he could from the locksmiths in the town, and presented them to the pursuivant who had brought the summons; but he made answer, that they were too old to be of use to such a place, and departed, to make his report of what had passed to the count de Dunois, who was not far off with the main army.

On the morrow morning, the 28th, came the lieutenant-general, attended by the counts de St Pol and d'Eu, the lord seneschal of Poitou, and several other captains, with a large body of franc-archers, (an institution lately established in France) attacked, and instantly gained possession of a small island, on which they raised a battery of cannon, although they did not fire them, but some sharp skirmishings took place between the archers, —and the English lost the bridge, when their governor was pierced through both his cheeks with an arrow, to their great dismay. Seeing, therefore, the great force that was brought against them, and that numbers of towns and castles had of late surrendered, they, in conjunction with the inhabitants, demanded from the count de Dunois passports for four or six persons to hold a parley respecting the summons that had been sent them.

This was agreed to; and the following persons were selected by the governor and inhabitants to wait on the count de Dunois, namely, John Abaron*, an Englishman,

* John Abaron. Q.

captain of the troops in the town, master Guillaume d'Aguenet, a most determined partisan of the English, Regnault de Bordeaux and others,—and d'Aguenet was appointed spokesman. Having made the usual salutations to the lieutenant-general, he thus addressed him,—'My lord, you have summoned us to surrender the town of Vernon to the king your lord: tell us on what grounds you have made this demand.' The count de Dunois, with coolness and dignity becoming the representative of a king, answered most eloquently, (for he was one of the most eloquent men in all France) that the said town of Vernon, and its dependances, belonged to the king his lord by rightful inheritance; that it had been taken from him more by violence than otherwise, with great part of his kingdom, during the life of the late king his father; and he then recited, in a style that would have done credit to a doctor, a history of the war between the kings of France and England, and the innumerable evils that had resulted from it: that the king of France, moved by his great charity, had consented to certain

truces, in the hope that, during their continuance, means might be found to establish a permanent peace, — but that the English had, through their disorderly love of conquest, in the interval, gained by force the town of Fougeres from the duke of Brittany, a relative and subject of the king, and especially named in the said truces. He then related all the conferences that had taken place on the occasion, and their result, which have been already mentioned.

'The king,' therefore, having maturely considered this conduct with his council, captains and allies, and witnessing the infidelity of the English, has raised a sufficient army to regain all that legally belongs to him, and has appointed me his lieutenant-general to carry his intentions into execution: I therefore have summoned, and do now summon, you to restore this town to its rightful lord, to avoid the perils you will run into from your rebellion and disobedience, and that you may not attribute the evils that will ensue from your refusal to your lawful lord and mine, whose benign grace is willing to receive you again as his subjects.'

At the close of this speech, the English and the other deputies withdrew to consult how they should act. In the discussion, great disputes arose; for the French, considering king Charles as their lawful king, and feeling that what the lieutenant had said was founded in reason, wanted to surrender, but the English would not. After much altercation, the townsmen declared that they would surrender, whether the English would or no, if a fair treaty were offered for the tower, in which the English should be included if they were agreeable to it.

The English, perceiving they could not resist the will of the inhabitants, so plainly discovered, demanded letters, under the town-seal, declaratory that the surrender was agreed to without their consent, which were given them.

The deputies returned to the count de Dunois, who concluded a treaty, with the assent of the lords in his company, by which the town and castle of Vernon were surrendered,—in which were twelve score English, under the command of the son of the earl of Ormond. They marched away

in safety with their baggage,—and the inhabitants remained peaceably in the town, without losing an article of their effects.

The king afterwards gave this town and castle to the count de Dunois, for the great services he had rendered him, and in the expectation that he would do more in conquering Normandy, or wherever else he might be employed.

CHAP. VI.

THE KING OF FRANCE COMES TO THE TOWN OF EVREUX, WHERE HE IS HANDSOMELY RECEIVED, AND GOES THENCE TO LOUVIERS.—THE CASTLE OF ANJOU SUBMITS TO THE KING.—GOURNAY SURRENDERS ALSO.—JOHN HOWEL YIELDS UP THE CASTLE OF LA ROCHE-GUYON TO ITS LORD, AND TURNS TO THE FRENCH.

About the end of August, the king departed from Verneuil, and made his entry into the city of Evreux with great pomp. He was sumptuously received by the inhabitants, who went out in procession to

meet him, made bonfires, sang carols, and hung all the streets with tapestry through which he passed. He slept one night only in Evreux, and on the morrow went to Louviers, where he was equally well received. He was accompanied by the count du Maine, brother to the king of Sicily and the queen of France, the count de Clermont, eldest son to the duke of Bourbon, the viscount de Longmaigne, eldest son to the count d'Armagnac, the count de Castres, son to the count de la Marche, the youngest son of the house of Albreth, John lord of Lorraine, many other great lords and barons, and knights and esquires without number.

The king had two hundred lances for his body-guard, and his usual archers, without including four armies he had in the field,—namely, the army of the duke of Brittany, another under the command of the count de Dunois lieutenant-general, the army of the counts d'Eu and de St Pol, and that of the duke d'Alençon. The king was very active in supplying these armies with every thing they might want, as well with money as bombards, artillery,

and all kinds of stores; and couriers were constantly passing and repassing between him and them, to convey orders and intelligence.

During this time, William de Chance, governor of Pontoise, marched a body of men before the castle of Anjou, and summoned Portugal, the governor, to surrender it to the king of France. Portugal, hearing how the whole country, with its towns and castles, was submitting daily to king Charles, and knowing the impossibility of any effectual resistance, capitulated for its surrender, — when de Chance was appointed, by the king of France, the governor.

Sir Louis de Luxembourg, count de St Pol, marched, on a Sunday, from Vernon, to lay siege to Gournay. On his march, he was met by some of the townsmen, who came to make an offer to yield up the place, which was under the guard of William Harper, lieutenant to William Coram, an Englishman. The lieutenant, fearful of the event of a siege, and knowing also how the tide of war was turned, —and that all the towns and castles were

surrendering to the French,—having also in mind that prudent maxim, 'Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum,'—went out with one of the inhabitants, called Raoullet Pailleavoine, and some others, to the count de St Pol, on his arrival before the place, and confirmed the treaty that had been made at Longueville.

It was articled that the town and castle should be surrendered to the count de St Pol, notwithstanding that the lord de Moy and William de Chance, ignorant of the count's enterprise, had attempted to take it by storm, and had opened batteries against its walls. The moment they were informed of the count's intentions, they abandoned their enterprise,—and the king of France gave it to the count, with all its dependances, for his life. He appointed, therefore, as governor of the castle and town, sir George de Croix, lord of Blainsel.

While this treaty was carrying on, the count d'Eu remained at Andeli sur Seine*, and thence went to quarter him-

* Andeli-sur-Seine,—three leagues from Mantes.

self and his forces at Pont Saint Pierre*, where he staid three days, when he crossed the Seine to besiege Harcourt†.

On Monday, the 29th of August, all the lords who had been at the surrender of Vernon joined the king at Louviers, to arrange their plans for further conquests. During their assembly, the lord de Jalognes, marshal of France, and the lord of Roche-Guyon, marched a large body of men at arms to conquer the castle of La Roche-Guyon‡. To effect this, they detached about thirty men by water, well supplied with cannon and ammunition, who approached the place as if intending to besiege it, making as much noise as though they had been two hundred, and remained before it for three days, constantly skirmishing with the garrison; but although this garrison did not consist of more than sixteen men, the French gained no advantage over them.

* Pont St Pierre,—four leagues from Andeli.

† Harcourt,—ten leagues from Rouen, near Brionne.

‡ La Roche-Guyon,—a market-town in Normandy, three leagues from Mantes.

On Thursday the 3d of September, the lords de Jalognes and de la Roche-Guyon appeared before it with their forces; and when John Howel, the english governor, saw so numerous a body that it would be vain for him to oppose it, at the same time fearing the event of a siege, and considering the right the king had to reconquer his kingdom, entered into a treaty with these lords conditionally to surrender the castle, unless he should be relieved by the king of England or his lieutenant in Normandy, within fifteen days; and that he and his men should have free liberty to march away with their baggage whither they pleased.

Intelligence of this was sent to the duke of Somerset, lieutenant of Normandy, in Rouen, who tampered with the messenger to introduce four and twenty English into the castle, and put Howel to death. On his return, he attempted to gain over some of the garrison to his purpose, of admitting the twenty-four Englishmen to execute his damnable design; but knowledge of this plan coming secretly to the ears of Howel, he sent in

haste for the lord de la Roche-Guyon, who had withdrawn himself and his forces until the fifteenth day should arrive, to whom he surrendered the place. The garrison marched away, under passports, with their effects; but Howel was so indignant at the plot formed against his life that he became a Frenchman, and took the oaths of allegiance, on condition that he should enjoy the landed property of his wife, who was a native of France,—and the lord de la Roche-Guyon continued him in the government of his castle.

CHAP. VII.

THE COUNTS OF EU AND OF ST POL TAKE BY STORM THE NEW CASTLE OF NICORPS*.—THE CASTLE SURRENDERS ON TERMS.—THE COUNT DE DUNOIS GAINS THE CASTLE OF HARCOURT.

ABOUT the middle of September, it was resolved, in the councils held at Louviers,

* Nicorps,—a village in Normandy, diocese and election of Coutances.

that, considering the great body of french chivalry, it would be necessary to form two divisions: the one under the command of Charles d'Artois count of Eu, Louis de Luxembourg count of St Pol, and other captains, having with them from three to four thousand combatants, were ordered to besiege the new castle of Nicorps, which was held by the captain, Adam Illeton*, an Englishman. The french army came before it on Tuesday the 12th day of September, and took the town by storm on the following Thursday. The castle was then besieged,—and surrendered on capitulation fifteen days afterward.

The other division was under the command of the count de Dunois, lieutenant-general, having with him the counts de Clermont and de Nevers, with four thousand veteran soldiers. On leaving Louviers, they marched to lay siege to the castle of Chambrais† on the 18th of September, of which an Englishman, called

* Adam Illeton. Q. Elton, or Hilson?

† Chambrais,—a market-town in Normandy, 13 leagues from Evreux.

William Crinton*, was governor, and had under him two hundred men for its defence. After seven days siege, it surrendered on capitulation with the count de Clermont,—and thus was it restored to the obedience of the king of France.

Without losing time, the lieutenant-general marched his army before the castle of Harcourt, which is handsome and strong. It was governed by sir Richard Frongueval†, an Englishman, having under him about eight score of his countrymen. The siege lasted about fifteen days, with daily skirmishes with the garrison. Great advances were made, in which a very valiant man at arms from the garrison of Louviers was killed by a cannon-shot,—and an Englishman lost his life by the shot of a culverine, on the portal of the lower court.

A mutiny now took place in the garrison, when the governor was disgraced, and hung by his feet under the gate,—when the French, taking advantage of it, played their cannon so well that they greatly

* W. Crinton. Q. Clinton?

† Sir Richard Frongueval. Q.

damaged the walls of the lower court. The English, fearful of consequences, entered into a capitulation to surrender, if they should not, on the ensuing Friday, be in force to meet them in the field, and gave hostages for the performance. When the day arrived, not receiving any succours, they yielded up the place.

While these armies were thus employed, the english garrison of the town and castle of Essay* made an excursion to fish a pond at some distance,—which coming to the knowledge of the duke d'Alençon, he instantly ordered his men to mount, and marched, as secretly as he could, to cut off their retreat. He succeeded in making the whole prisoners, and, carrying them to Essay, forced them to deliver up the town and castle, on pain of losing their heads.

The french garrison in Dieppe, knowing that there was but a small garrison in Fecamp, which is a sea-port, marched thither secretly, and won it by storm.

* Essay,—a market-town in Normandy, five leagues from Alençon, two from Sees.

Shortly after, arrived a vessel from England, having on board ninety-seven soldiers to garrison the abbey, supposing it still to belong to king Henry, whom the French suffered to land without opposition, but instantly afterwards took them all prisoners.

CHAP. VIII.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY AND THE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE ENTER NORMANDY WITH A GREAT ARMY, AND LAY SIEGE TO ST LO*, WHICH SURRENDERS TO THEM, AS DO MANY OTHER SMALL PLACES.—THE TOWN OF CARENTAN† SURRENDERS ALSO.

About the same period of this year, the duke of Brittany, his brother the count de Richemont, constable of France, with other nobles and men at arms from his duchy, amounting to a thousand or twelve hundred lances, entered lower Normandy,

* St Lo,—a city of Normandy, on the Vire.

† Carentan, a town in Normandy, three leagues from the sea-coast.

to restore it to the obedience of the king of France from the dominion of the English (the ancient enemies of the realm), who had usurped the government of it for nearly thirty-two years. They first advanced to the town of Mont St Michel*; and the nobles and men at arms were quartered in the villages of upper and lower Les Pas†, Courtis‡, St George en Gaine, Postulbanch, and thereabouts.

The duke, on quitting Brittany, had left his brother, the lord Peter, on the frontiers, near to Fougeres and Avranches, for their defence, with three hundred lances. On the morrow, the duke and the constable formed their van-guard under the command of sir James de Luxembourg, lieutenant to the constable, the marshal and admiral of France, of five hundred spears, who that day marched to Coutances§, and

* Mont St Michel,—a strong town in Normandy, built on a rock, and surrounded by the sea at high water.

† Les Pas,—a village in Normandy, diocese of Avranches.

‡ Les Courtis,—a village in Normandy, diocese of Avranches.

§ Coutances,—capital of the Coutantin, two leagues from the sea.

lay before it,—while the duke and the main army, consisting of five or six hundred lances, remained that night in and about Granville*. On the morrow, the constable advanced the main army toward Coutances, and halted opposite to the hospital; but they were not there a day before the English in the town marched away, and the inhabitants continued in the same peaceful state as before this renewal of war.

The duke of Brittany next marched to lay siege to St Lo, and ordered his van to advance and take up their quarters on one side of the town,—while he followed with the army on the next day, and posted himself on the opposite side. Sir William de Poitou commanded in the place, with a garrison of two hundred men,—but notwithstanding these numbers, he made no resistance, but capitulated with the duke for its surrender, on being allowed to march away with his men whither he should please. The duke and the constable, during their stay at St Lo, won the fol-

* Granville,—a sea-port in Normandy, six leagues from Coutances.

lowing towns, villages and castles, namely, le Hommet*, Neufville†, Torigny‡, Beuseville§, Hambie‖, La Motte l'Evêque¶, la Haye-du-Puy**, Chanteloup††, L'Aunay‡‡, and many other small places round St Lo, in which city, as well as in those captured places, strong garrisons were posted.

The van was now detached to the town of Carentan, and followed by the main body; but the garrison held out only three days before they surrendered, and then marched away with staves in their hands, —and those in the town were reinstated in their possessions.

The marshal and the admiral of France now separated from the duke and the con-

* Le Hommet,—a small town near St Lo.

† Neufville,—a village near Alençon.

‡ Torigny,—three leagues from Coutances.

§ Beuseville, a village in Normandy.

‖ Hambie,—a market-town near Coutances.

¶ La Motte-l'Evêque,—a barony and castle near St Lo.

** La Haye-du-Puy,—a market-town near Coutances.

†† Chanteloup,—a village near Coutances.

‡‡ L'Aunay,—a village.

stable, and came before Pont d'Oue*, which having taken by storm, they overran all the country of Coutantin, without meeting any resistance. The government of it and Carentan was given to Joachim Rohault. From Carentan, the above lords returned to Coutances, and thence, in the month of October, detached a party to Gavrey†. On the morrow, the duke and the constable came to Coutances, where the duke staid that day, and before the constable could arrive at Gavrey, the bulwark had been won by storm; and on the morrow, sir Geoffry de Couvren, who directed the siege, having made great approaches by his mines, attacked the castle with such vigour that the english garrison, of about six score men, demanded a parley, and concluded a treaty with the constable for its surrender, on being allowed to march away in safety with their effects.

* Pont d'Oue. Q. Pont d'Ouilly ? a market-town in Normandy, on the Vire.

† Gavrey,—a town on the Seine, four leagues from Coutances.

CHAP. IX.

THE DUKE OF ALENÇON CONQUERS HIS TOWN OF ALENÇON*.—THE COUNT DE FOIX GAINS THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF MAULEON†.—THE COUNT DE DUNOIS TAKES ARGENTAN‡.—THE ENGLISH RETIRE INTO THE KEEP OF THE CASTLE, AND, ON SURRENDERING IT, MARCH AWAY WITH ONLY STAVES IN THEIR HANDS.

THE duke of Alençon, in consequence of intelligence with friends in Alençon, advanced thither by day-break, and by their means was admitted into the town. The english garrison retreated to the castle, which was instantly surrounded by the duke, who had with him eight hundred lances besides archers. There were numbers of English in the place,—but their hearts fail-

* Alençon,—a handsome city in lower Normandy, 47 leagues from Paris.

† Mauléon. Q. Mauléon de Soule? a town in Gascony, eight leagues from Pau.

‡ Argentan, — seven leagues and a half from Alençon.

ed them, for they made little resistance, and surrendered the town to the duke, whose inheritance it was. Sir Louis de Beaumont, governor of Mans, had come to his assistance with sixty lances, and archers in proportion. During this time, the king of France was at Louviers.

About this same period, namely, the latter end of September, the count de Foix accompanied by the counts de Comminges, d'Estract*, the viscount de Lautrec his brother, and many other knights, barons, and esquires from the counties of Foix, Comminges, Estract, Bigorre and Béarn, to the amount of five or six hundred lances and two thousand cross-bows, marched from his country of Bearn through that of the Basques†, until he came before the town of Mauléon de Soule, to which he laid siege. The inhabitants, per-

* D'Estract. In the MS. from Du Cange's copy, it is changed to *d'Estrar*. I suspect that it ought to be *de la Trane*; for the souldich de la Trane was of that country, and one of Edward the IIId's great captains. He is frequently mentioned by Froissart.

† Basques,—a small country near the Pyrenées, surrounded by Spain, the ocean, Béarn and the river Adour.

ceiving such numbers, were afraid of the consequences, should the siege be pushed to extremities, and capitulated to surrender, on condition that no harm should be done to them.

Upon this, the english garrison retreated into the castle, which is the strongest in all the duchy of Guienne, and is seated on a high rock. But the count de Foix, learning that it was badly provided with stores and provision, surrounded it with his troops on all sides; and this coming to the knowledge of the king of Navarre, he instantly issued his summons for the relief of the English, and marched six thousand Navarrois, Arragonians, Gascons and English, to within two leagues of it, to raise the siege. Finding the enemy so strongly intrenched, and so numerous, he retreated, and sent messengers to the count to say that he was desirous of having a conference with him, if he would send passports for himself and what company he might please to bring with him.

The king of Navarre, on receiving the passports, advanced with a small company to within a quarter of a league of the

count's army, where he was waiting for him; when, after the usual salutations from the count, (who had married the king of Navarre's daughter, and had a beautiful family) the king said that he was much astonished, considering how nearly they were connected together, that he had besieged a place under his protection, his constable being governor for the king of England, to whom he had promised to defend it against all his enemies. The count good-humouredly replied (paying at the same time all honour and respect), that he was lieutenant-general for the king of France of all the countries between the river Gironde and the mountains: he was, likewise, a relation and subject to the king of France, and it was by his command that he had taken the town and besieged the castle; and to preserve his honour unspotted, and that no blame might ever be cast on him by any of his family, he would never raise the siege until the place was reduced to the obedience of the king of France, unless he should be fought withal and conquered; that in every other respect he would assist and serve the king of Navarre, the

father of his wife, against all persons whatever, excepting the king of France, his subjects and allies, and all things appertaining to the crown of France. Upon this, the king of Navarre returned with the troops to his own country.

The garrison in the castle, finding they had no hopes of succour, and knowing their scarcity of provisions, surrendered it on capitulation,—and thus was the castle restored to the obedience of the king of France. Shortly after, the lord de Luce*, attended by six hundred combatants, all wearing red crosses, came and did homage to the king of France in the hands of his lieutenant-general for the town and castle of Mauléon, which was his inheritance. After he had taken the oaths, he and his company returned to his mansion, wearing white crosses, to the great astonishment of all the men, women and children, of his country. When this had been done, the count de Foix marched his army back to Béarn, having left a sufficient garrison in the town and castle of Mauléon.

* De Luce. Luxe.——MS. Du Cange.

On the 27th of September, the lord de Blainville came with a large force of men at arms before the castle of Toucques, strongly situated on a rock close to the sea, and having an english garrison of sixty men. On seeing so large a body, they did not attempt resistance, but surrendered on having their lives and fortunes spared, and being allowed to march in safety whither they pleased.

On the last day of this month, the counts de Dunois and de Nevers laid siege to the castle of Yemmes*, which the English instantly surrendered on similar terms.

The count de Dunois then marched his army to besiege the town and castle of Argentan. The English opened a parley, although they had not any intentions to surrender; but when the townsmen saw that they were only laughing at the French by these pretended parleys, and knew their intention of holding out to the last, and that what they were saying to the French was the farthest from their thoughts, they called some of their countrymen aside, and bade them have no more parleys with the

* Yemmes. Q. if not Yesme, a village in Maine?

English, for that they would hold out as long as they could. At the same time, they asked for a banner or pennon, which they would display from a certain part of the walls,—and that when they should see it they should advance thither with courage, and they would admit them into the town, which was done.

The English, perceiving themselves betrayed, retreated into the castle; but a large bombard was instantly pointed against the walls, and made a breach wide enough for a cart to pass. The French, on this success, attacked the castle, and entered the breach, —but the English retired into the dungeon, which they soon surrendered, fearing to be taken by storm; and although they demanded a capitulation, they were marched away with only staves in their hands.

CHAP. X.

THE KING OF SICILY WAITS ON THE KING OF FRANCE AT LOUVIERS. — FRESNOY* SURRENDERS TO THE DUKE OF ALENÇON. —GISORS† CAPITULATES.--THE CASTLE OF GALLON‡ IS BESIEGED.

At this season, the king of Sicily came to the king of France at Louviers, where he was very joyfully received. He had with him his brother the count du Maine, and a long train of nobles, knights and esquires, whose names it would be tedious to relate, to the number of more than two hundred lances, and archers, without including those from the army of the duke d'Alençon, the duke of Brittany, the count de Dunois lieutenant-general, the count de Clermont, nor those of the count d'Eu, or of the count de St Pol, who all had with them very many men of note.

* Fresnoy,—a village in Normandy.

† Gisors,—a city in Normandy, capital of Vexin-Normand.

‡ Gallon,—10 leagues from Rouen, about a league from the Seine.

The king, seeing such a numerous and well appointed body of chivalry, resolved to pursue with vigour the conquest of the whole duchy of Normandy, and began his operations by ordering siege to be laid to the castle of Gallon. This castle was very strong, and impregnable but by famine, — for it was seated on a rock near to the Seine, out of cannon-shot, and could not any way be won, so long as provision for the garrison should last. The command of the siege was given to the seneschal of Poitou and others, who pushed their approaches toward it with great activity. The king went thither in person.

In the mean while, the duke of Alençon laid siege to the town and castle of Fresnoy, wherein were many English; but they made no opposition to the prosperity of the king's affairs, and surrendered on capitulation.

During the siege of Gallon, and about three or four days before its surrender, sir Richard de Merbury, an english knight and governor of Gisors, agreed to terms of capitulation with the brother of his wife, for its surrender on the 17th day of Octo-

ber following. In fact, the governor turned to the french interest, and took the oaths of allegiance, on condition that two of his sons, John and Hemond, who had been made prisoners at the capture of Pont-Audemer, should be restored to him without ransom; and also that he should enjoy unmolested the lands of his wife, which were now held by the French, whether by gift from the king or otherwise. At the solicitations of his wife's relations, the king granted his requests,—and, in expectation of the services that he looked to from him and his children, he also made him governor of St Germain en Laye, and gave him, for his life only, all the profits and emoluments arising from this government.

The king appointed, as governor of Gisors, the lord de Gaucourt, who had long laboured in his majesty's service: and considering his great age, of four score years and upwards, he had lately acquired very great honour.

CHAP. XI.

THE KING OF FRANCE ORDERS THE COUNTS DE DUNOIS, D'EU, AND DE ST POL TO JOIN HIM, AS HE INTENDED TO MARCH TO ROUEN, WHENCE, AFTER REMAINING THREE DAYS HE RETURNS.—SOME OF THE INHABITANTS OF ROUEN ARE NEAR DELIVERING UP THE CITY TO HIM.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY BESIEGES FOUGERES.--CONDE IS TAKEN.

In the month of October, the king of France ordered the count de Dunois, and the lords in his company who had subdued Argentan, to join him : and likewise the counts d'Eu and de St Pol; for it was his intention to march to reduce Rouen to his obedience. They hastily complied with his orders, insomuch that their armies were soon in the plains of Neufbourg*, and assembled on the opposite side of the river, toward Rouen.

* Neufbourg,—a town in Normandy, between the Seine and Rille, 8 leages from Rouen.

The king of France departed from Louviers, attended by the king of Sicily and his nobles, and advanced to Pont de l'Arche,—when the inhabitants came out with great joy, to welcome him on his arrival. He thence sent heralds without delay to summon Rõuen to surrender, that all oppressions might be avoided by a voluntary submission: but the english garrison, aware on what embassy the heralds came, would not let them approach the walls, nor would they hear their summons, ordering them, at the same time, to make haste and return, under pain of death. They reported to the king all they had seen and heard, who, having learnt the answers the English had given to his heralds, commanded the army to cross the bridge at Pont de l'Arche, which was done under the conduct of the count de Dúnois, and thence to proceed to Rouen. They remained before that city for three days with a multitude of men at arms and soldiers of all descriptions; but during these three days, the army suffered so greatly from the continual rains and storms that the whole was nearly destroyed.

Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, the garrison made many sallies, in which very gallant deeds of prowess were done; and a french esquire, called the bastard de Forbier, was made prisoner by reason of his horse falling under him. The french lords drew their army up in battle-array before the walls, and sent the king's heralds, a second time to summon the city to surrender; but as the English would not suffer them to approach near enough to be heard by the people, they were forced to return as before, which was quite contrary to every rule of chivalry; for heralds are always allowed the liberty of freely going and coming, to deliver their messages, provided such messages do not contain any thing treasonable.

The heralds, having made their report to the count de Dunois on their return, and he having considered that there seemed at present no chance that the city would surrender, and that the severity of the weather had much weakened his army, and worse was to be expected during the winter, which was nigh at hand, marched back to Pont de l'Arche, and quartered his men in

the villages round that town. On the day of this retreat, the king of France had come with the king of Sicily to a nunnery within a league and a half of Rouen; but the king of France returned to his former quarters at Pont de l'Arche, while the king of Sicily remained until all the companies had marched for their cantonments near to Pont de l'Arche.

Shortly after, the king received intelligence that some of the inhabitants of Rouen had gained two towers that commanded part of the walls, and that they would admit them by this way into the city. On this information, the count de Dunois was ordered with the army to undertake the business, who marched off, on the 16th day of October, in handsome array.

On their arrival before Rouen, the army was drawn up fronting the new castle, whence two detachments were ordered,—the one to the gate of the Carthusians, and the gate Beauvoisienne, under the command of the counts de Dunois, de Nevers, d'Eu, and de St Pol, having with them many knights and esquires. The other de-

tachment was to take post between the place appropriated to the execution of criminals and the walls of the city, under the command of the counts de Clermont, de Chartres, the viscount de Lomaigne and others. Each remained in battle-array until two hours after midday, when a person sallied out of the city on horseback, and told the above-mentioned commanders that some of the townsmen had gained, and kept by force, two towers, purposely to introduce, by their means, the king's army into the town.

Upon this, the count de Dunois, and the other lords in the detachment before the gate of the Carthusians, ordered their archers to march towards that part of the walls between these two towers,—and the count and his companions instantly dismounted and advanced to the foot of the walls, against which they raised the few scaling ladders they had, and made all diligence to mount them.

On this occasion were made knights the count de Nevers, the lord Concresault, Brunet de Long-champ, the lord de Pleumartin, Pierre de la Fayette, the lord de

Graville, master William Cousinot, Jacques de la Riviere the bailiff of Nivernois, Robert de Hurenville, who all exerted themselves manfully to scale the walls, so that there were more than thirty Frenchmen who were on the battlements or within the town.

The lord Talbot now advanced, with about three hundred men, planting his banner on the wall, charged the French most valiantly, to repulse those who had made good their entrance into the town. They, however, fought well,—and great part saved themselves by leaping into the ditches, being forced thereto by the arrows of the english archers. Those who could not thus escape were put to death, or made prisoners,—and the English became masters of the wall and of these two towers. At this attack, from fifty to sixty French, including those of the townsmen who had assisted them, were killed or taken; and several, in attempting to escape, destroyed themselves. A few saved themselves from the towers: others had their legs broken by their fall, and such as remained were inhumanly slaughtered; so that it

was an abomination to see the torrents of blood that ran in streams from the two towers.

During this time, the kings of France and of Sicily arrived at Darnetal*; but when they saw that the attempt had failed, and that the citizens of Rouen were not unanimous to assist them, they returned, on the 16th day of October, to Pont de l'Arche. The army was quartered in the villages on the banks of the Seine, according to their former disposition.

On the 17th day of October, sir Richard Merbury, the english knight before mentioned, fulfilled his engagement, and delivered the town and castle of Gisors to the lord de Gaucourt, for the king of France. In consequence, his children were restored to him, and all the articles agreed on fulfilled; after which, he departed. He, however, sent away, previously to yielding up the place, an english captain called Regnéfort†, who had been his lieutenant in the command of the garrison, and in the guard of the castle.

* Darnetal,—a town very near to Rouen.

† Regnéfort. Q. Rainford.

At this period, the duke of Brittany left lower Normandy, where he had taken many places, on his return to besiege the town of Fougeres, held by sir Francis de Surienne, called the Arragonian.

The French, at this time, won the town of Condé sur Noireau* through neglect of the guard at the gate; and therein was taken the lady of sir Francis de Surienne, who had been driven from her lord's own residence, and forced to shelter herself in Condé. The French plundered every thing within the town, and also carried away the English prisoners.

* Condé sur Noireau,—in the valley of Noireau, diocese of Bayeux.

CHAP. XII.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF ROUEN AND OTHERS OF THE CITIZENS NEGOTIATE TO SURRENDER THAT CITY TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE KEYS ARE PRESENTED TO THE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL, THE COUNT DE DUNOIS, WHO ENTERS THE TOWN WITH HIS ARMY.

On the 18th day of October, the inhabitants of the city of Rouen, being greatly frightened lest their town should be stormed by the French, and of course pillaged and destroyed, and also to avoid the further effusion of blood, assembled with one accord at the bishop's palace. They were much enraged at the deaths of their relatives and friends; and had they met the lord Talbot, it was generally supposed that they would have murdered him, as he had done their fellow-citizens and friends.

They, however, saw the duke of Somerset, and plainly told him, that it was expedient that a treaty should be opened, with the king of France, otherwise they

would be ruined and starved,—for it was upwards of six weeks since any corn, wood, meat or wine had entered the town. This language was not very agreeable to the duke,—but looking round, and seeing that he had not more than fifty or sixty Englishmen with him, and that there were from eight hundred to a thousand of the townsmen, without including the remainder of the inhabitants who were under arms in the different streets, he began to be alarmed, and, addressing himself with much humility to the archbishop and people, said, that he was ready to do whatever the inhabitants of the town should wish. To appease the populace, he went to the town-hall, where public meetings are usually held,—and, after some discussion, it was resolved that the archbishop, with some english knights and citizens, should attend at the gate of St Ouen, to confer with the king, or with a part of his great council, respecting the welfare and surrender of the city of Rouen.

In consequence of this resolution, the official of the town was sent to the king at Pont de l'Arche to obtain a safe conduct for

certain persons therein named, to treat of peace,—which being granted, the official returned to the archbishop and the duke. The archbishop, and some knights and esquires on the part of the duke of Somerset, together with certain of the townsmen, were sent to Port St Ouen*, within a league of Pont de l'Arche, where they met, on the part of the king of France, his lieutenant-general the count de Dunois, the chancellor of France, the seneschal of Poitou, sir William de Cousinot, and some others. They had a long conference, in which the deputies from Rouen insisted on a general amnesty being granted, and that such as chose might depart with the English, and all who preferred to stay should have the enjoyment of their fortunes unmolested. It was also stipulated, that the English and their party should have safe conducts for themselves and their effects, when they marched away. All these demands having been agreed to by the count

* St Ouen. I believe there must be some mistake, for there is no St Ouen near to Pont de l'Arche; but a St Ouen seems to be within a league of Elbeuf, which is near to Pont de l'Arche.

de Dunois and the king's counsellors, the archbishop and his associates promised to deliver up the town to the king's obedience.

The archbishop and his companions then departed, to make their report to the English and the citizens of Rouen;—but as they arrived in the night, they could not do it until the following day. On the 18th, therefore, the archbishop and the other deputies went very early to the town-hall, and related every thing that had passed between them and the ministers from the king of France, which was very agreeable to the inhabitants, but sorely displeasing to the English, who, when they saw the strong inclinations of the townsmen to turn to the french interest, were greatly astonished, more especially, the duke of Somerset and the lord Talbot. They therefore left the town-hall much discontented, and, instantly arming themselves, withdrew to the government-palace, the bridges, and portals of the castle.

The citizens, having observed their motions, began to take alarm, and armed themselves also. They, as well as the English, kept up a strong guard the whole of

this Saturday, and likewise during the night; but the townsmen, anxious to expel the English for refusing to accept of the terms the deputies had agreed to, sent a messenger to Pont de l'Arche, who arrived there on Sunday by day-break, to inform the king, that if he would send a force to their relief, it should have free entrance into the town.

On this same Sunday, the 19th day of October, about eight o'clock in the morning, the whole of the inhabitants were under arms, and on their guard against any attempts of the English,—when they attacked all of that nation whom they found in the streets so sharply that it was with difficulty that they could join their companions on the bridge, and in the palace and castle. In the pursuit, from seven to eight English were killed,—and the townsmen gained possession, in the interim, of the principal gates of the town.

The count de Dunois lost no time in hastening to the relief of Rouen, but instantly mounted his horse, attended by a large company of men at arms. In the number was Flocquet, bailiff of Evreux;

but in his hurry, he forgot to put his greaves on, and was so badly kicked by one of the horses of his troop that his leg was broken, and he was carried back to be cured at Pont de l'Arche, after he had given the command of his men to the lord de Maulny.

On the arrival of this force before Rouen, those within St Catherine's were summoned to surrender the place to the king of France, who had, during the summons, set out from Pont de l'Arche, grandly accompanied by men at arms and archers, to appear personally before the walls of Rouen. He had ordered his artillery to be charged, for an immediate attack on his arrival at St Catherine's, although there was no necessity,—for the governor of the place, having six score English under his orders, seeing so noble a company, and knowing that the king was on the road, fearful also of the event, if he made any resistance, surrendered it to the count de Dunois, and he and his garrison marched away whither they pleased. The bailiff of Evreux was appointed governor, until the king should otherwise dispose of

it. A herald was sent with the english garrison of St Catherine's, to answer for their safety, and to conduct them to Port St Ouen. On their march, they met the king, who bade them take nothing from the poor people without paying for it; but as they said they had no money, he gave them the sum of one hundred francs to defray the expences,—and then they continued their march with their baggage, of which, indeed, they had little, to Honfleur, or wherever else they pleased. The king took up his quarters that night at St Catherine's, with the intent to accomplish his enterprise.

To gain the city of Rouen, the count de Dunois, the count de Nevers, the lord d'Orval, the lord de Blainville and the lord de Maulny, advanced with all their men; with the king's banners displayed, before that gate of Rouen called Martinville, and drew up in battle-array near to the bulwark of the gate. The citizens came out with the keys of the gates and presented them to the count de Dunois,—at the same time pressing him to enter the town with as many of his men as he

pleased. The count replied, that he would act as should be most agreeable to them, when, after some further conversation respecting the welfare of the city, sir Pierre de Brézé, seneschal of Poitou, was ordered to enter with one hundred lances and his archers, the lord de Maulny with the same number of lances, and the archers of Robert de Flocques, and one hundred lances and archers from the men of the count de Dunois.

They posted themselves as near to the English as they could, namely the men of the count de Dunois in front of the government-palace, in which were the duke of Somerset and lord Talbot, with twelve hundred English,—the lord de Maulny between the palace and the castle, and the seneschal of Poitou facing the castle. The other captains were encamped in the fields, and posted in the villages on the side toward the countries of Caux and Beauvoisis.

The king's army was a fine sight; for never, in the memory of man, had the king so grand or so numerous an assembly of lords, barons, knights and esquires, with

common men, as were now under his orders.

This evening, the English surrendered the bridge, the guard of which was given to the lord de Herunville,—and, on the morrow, the gates of the town were thrown open, for all to enter or go out as they pleased.

The duke of Somerset was afflicted a heart to see the great army the king had brought against him, and demanded a conference with him. On this being told the king, he was well pleased to agree to it. In consequence, the duke of Somerset set out, on the fifth day afterward, from the palace, accompanied by a certain number of persons, and by some of the king's heralds, who escorted him to St Catherine's on the mount of Rouen, where the king received him, attended by the king of Sicily, the count de Dunois, and others of his council and blood: the patriarch of Antioch, the Archbishop of Rouen, and other prelates, were likewise present. After the usual salutations, and when the duke had paid his respects to the king, he requested that his majesty would be pleased to allow him and

lord Talbot, with the men under their command, to march away with their baggage in safety, according to the terms of the general amnesty which had been agreed to by the lords of his council.

The king deliberately and prudently replied, that his request was unreasonable, because they had refused to accept or adhere to the terms of the amnesty; but in contempt of it had held, and now did hold, the palace and castle contrary to his will, and had also done every thing in their power to prevent the inhabitants of Rouen from surrendering their town. The amnesty had, therefore, been annulled by their own conduct; and before they were suffered to leave the palace, Honfleur, Harfleur, and all places in the country of Caux, now in the hands of the king of England, must be given up to him.

The duke of Somerset, on receiving this answer, took leave of the king and returned to the palace, and saw every one, in all the streets he passed through, wearing the white cross, which did not tend to raise his spirits. He was escorted back by the counts of Eu and of Clermont.

CHAP. XIII.

THE KING OF FRANCE BESIEGES THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, LORD TALBOT, AND THEIR MEN, IN THE GOVERNMENT-PALACE OF ROUEN. — THEY SURRENDER, ON CONDITION OF BEING ALLOWED TO MARCH AWAY ON YIELDING UP THE CASTLE OF ARQUES*, AND OTHER PLACES MENTIONED.

On Wednesday, the 22d of October the king of France commanded the government-palace and the castle of Rouen to be besieged at the same time. Eight hundred lances, with the archers, were ordered on this service, who made deep trenches round the palace, as well in the town as in the fields. Bombards and cannon were pointed against the gates that opened to the country and town. All these preparations greatly dismayed the duke of Somerset. Having considered that there was very little provision or stores

* Arques,—two leagues from Dieppe.

within the palace, and a great many men, and that there was not a possibility of his being relieved, he requested, on the 28th of the same month, that the king would permit him to speak with him, which the king kindly granted. The duke left the palace accompanied by about forty of his principal knights and esquires: he was dressed in a long robe of blue figured velvet, lined with sables, having on his head a crimson-velvet bonnet, trimmed also with sables. The king's heralds escorted him through the tower to the sallyport leading to St Catherine's, where he was met by the count de Clermont, eldest son to the duke of Bourbon, and other knights and esquires, who conducted him to St Catherine's where the king received him very kindly, in an apartment most richly decorated.

The king had with him, at this audience, the king of Sicily, the counts of Maine, of Dunois, of Nevers, of Clermont, of St Pol, of Castres, of Tancarville, the viscount of Loumaigne, and so many great lords and knights that it would be tiresome to name them all. When the

duke had saluted the king, he requested that his majesty would be pleased to grant to him, and the English in the palace and castle, the same capitulation he had granted to the town.

The king replied aloud, and in handsome terms, that the same capitulation had been granted them at the conference at St Ouen, but that neither himself nor his countrymen, like ill-advised persons, would accept of it: his request was therefore so unreasonable that he could not grant it. The duke then took his leave of the king and returned, with those who had accompanied him, to the palace, escorted, for his security, by the counts of Clermont, of Eu, and of Castres.

The king ordered the count de Dunois to push forward his approaches to the palace with the greatest vigour, on the side toward the country as well as on that toward the town. The lieutenant-general obeyed this order with so much activity, valour and prudence, that the English were completely blockaded in both the castle and the palace.

The English now demanded a parley

with the count de Dunois, and a truce was concluded between them. The bailiff of Evreux, the marshal de la Fayette, and others of the king's council were called in to the conference, when the truce was prolonged from day to day, for the space of twelve days, because the English would not leave the lord Talbot as an hostage for the performance of the treaty. After many discussions, it was at length agreed that the duke of Somerset, lieutenant of the king of England, his lady, children, and all the English within the palace and castle should depart in safety with their effects whithersoever they pleased, leaving behind the prisoners and heavy artillery. They were bound to pay the king of France the sum of fifty thousand crowns within the twelvemonth, and to those who had concluded this treaty six thousand. They also promised faithfully to pay every thing they owed to the innkeepers, townsmen, tradesmen and others of Rouen.

The duke of Somerset and his companions were besides bounden to deliver up the castle of Arques, the town of Caudebec, the castle of Tancarville, and L'isle-

bonne, the towns of Honfleur and Monstierville, to the king of France, or to such commissioners as he should appoint to receive them. For the fulfilment of these engagements, the duke of Somerset gave written promises, and also left, as hostages for their performance, lord Talbot, the sons of lord Abergavenny, of lord Roos, and of the duchess of Somerset, of the earl of Ormond in Ireland, and two other english noblemen.

On the conclusion of this treaty, the duke of Somerset and the English departed from the palace on the 4th day of November, and went strait to the town of Harfleur,—some by water, others by land. The hostages remained under the care of the king's commissaries in Rouen. The duke of Somerset, before his departure, had directed sir Thomas Hou and Fulk Hou* to restore to the king of France the places mentioned in the treaty; which was done, excepting Honfleur,—for the governor, called master Thomas Courson,

* Sir Thomas Hou, &c. Q. Howe? Berry changes the names into Heu and Heston. See Hollingshed, &c.

refused to surrender it,—and the lord Talbot, therefore, remained prisoner to the king. On Monday, the 10th of November, the eve of the feast of St Martin, the count de Dunois and the bailiff of Rouen had the king's banner displayed from the castle, palace, and walls of the city, by one of the king's heralds, and in the presence of the principal inhabitants.

CHAP. XIV.

THE KING OF FRANCE MAKES A GRAND ENTRY INTO ROUEN. — HE IS SUMPTUOUSLY RECEIVED.—THE ENGLISH RESTORE TO THE KING THE CASTLE OF ARQUES, CAUDEBEC, TANCARVILLE, MONSTIERVILLE, &c.

WHILE the negotiations were carrying on with the English, the king of France celebrated the feasts of All-saints in St Catherine's with the utmost joy on seeing his enemies fall before him,—and he returned

thanks to God for the good fortune that was daily pouring in upon him. The count de Dunois having restored good government in the town of Rouen, the king prepared to make his solemn entry into it.

He set out from St Catherine's on this same Monday, about one o'clock after midday, attended by the king of Sicily, and several great princes, as well of his blood as otherwise, with his army drawn out in handsome array. First marched his archers, the leaders of whom were dressed in striped jackets of red, white and green, covered with embroidery. After these came the archers of the king of Sicily, of the count du Maine, and of other great lords, to the number of six hundred, well mounted, and all armed with plate armour, under jackets of various colours, having greaves, swords, daggers and helmets, richly ornamented with silver. The king appointed the lords de Preüilly and de Cléré, sir Theaulde de Valperge, and a few more, to command them, who had their horses covered with satin housings of different forms and colours.

After the archers came the heralds of the king of France, the king of Sicily, and the other princes in company with the king, all dressed in their tabards of arms, —and with them were some pursuivants Then came the trumpeters and clarions, who sounded so loudly that it was very melodious, and gave much delight to hear them: the king's trumpeters were clothed in crimson, having their sleeves covered with embroidery.

Next came sir William Juvenal des Ursins, knight, lord of Trainel and chancellor of France, dressed in his robes of ceremony, namely, a robe, mantle and hood of scarlet, trimmed with minever, and on each of his shoulders were golden ribbands, interlaced with strips of fur. Before him walked two footmen, leading by the bridle a white hackney, covered with a housing of blue velvet, besprinkled with flowers de luce and gold tissue. On this housing was placed a small coffer, covered also with blue velvet and flowers de luce in silversmith's work, in which were the seals of the king. After him rode an equer-

ry of the stables, called Pierre Fonteville*, fully armed, and mounted on a charger covered with housings of azure velvet, having great clasps of silver gilt: he had on his head a pointed hat, with the point trimmed with crimson-velvet and ermine. He bore before him, in a scarf, the royal mantle of scarlet, ornamented with purple fringes and ermine. Next came, without any interval between him and the king, the lord de Saintrailles, grand equerry of the royal stables, and bailiff of Berry. He was in complete armour, mounted on a charger with similar housings and clasps as the said Fonteville, and bore in a scarf the royal sword of state, whose handle, cross and sheath, were covered with blue velvet, besprinkled with flowers de luce of gold.

Then came the king, in complete armour, on a stately charger with housings, reaching to the ground, of blue velvet, covered with flowers de luce in embroidery. On his head was a beaver hat lined with crimson velvet, having on the crown a tuft of gold thread. He was

* Fonteville. Fontenay.——MS. Du Cange.

followed by his pages dressed in crimson, —their sleeves covered with silver plates, the armour of their horses' heads was of fine gold, variously ornamented, and with plumes of ostrich feathers of divers colours. On the right of the king rode the king of Sicily, and on the left his brother the count of Maine, both in full armour, their horses richly ornamented, with similar housings, having white crosses, and their devices intermixed with tufts of gold thread. Their pages' horses had the like housings,—but their head-armour was of fine gold with their devices.

After them came the counts de Nevers, de St Pol, and de Clermont. The first was mounted, fully armed, on a charger covered with green velvet embroidered with gold, and followed by three pages dressed in violet and black: he was also accompanied by twelve gentlemen completely armed, mounted on horses covered with violet-coloured satin: each housing bore a white cross, except one whose housing was of green satin. The count de St Pol was likewise in full armour, mounted on a charger having a housing

of black satin covered with silversmith's work and embroidery. His five pages were clothed in black satin, slashed below, which slashes were covered with silversmith's work: the housings of their horses were the same. One of them bore a lance covered with crimson-velvet, another a lance covered with figured gold tissue, and the third bore on his head an helmet of fine gold richly ornamented; and behind these pages was his groom handsomely dressed, with the housings of his horse similar to the others, leading a handsome charger in hand. The count de Clermont was also completely armed, mounted on his charger covered with housings of his livery, as were his pages.

The lord de Culant, grand master of the king's household, (having the command of a battalion of six hundred lances, each having a pennoncel of crimson satin with a golden sun in the center,) followed the pages of the king, in complete armour, a hat on his head, and mounted on a charger covered with a housing of blue and red velvet in stripes, each stripe having a lace golden or silver leaf: the armour of his

horse was similarly ornamented. He wore round his neck a baldrick of pure gold, that hung down below the crupper of his horse. With the lord de Culant was an esquire called Rogerin Blosset, equerry of the stables to the king, who bore the royal standard of crimson satin, having the figure of St Michael in the center, and besprinkled with leaves of gold.

Jean de Scaenville was also in the rear of the king: he was surnamed Havart, bailiff of Dreux and esquire-carver to the king, and bore the royal pennon, which was of azure velvet, with three flowers de luce embroidered thereon in gold, and the border of this pennon was of large pearls.

In their attendance on the king were numbers of great lords, such as the viscount de Lomagne, the count de Castres, Ferry lord of Lorraine, sir John his brother, the lord d'Orval, the count de Tancarville, the lord de Montgascon, son to the count de Boulogne and Auvergne, the lord de Jalognes marshal of France, the lord de Beauveau, and more than I can remember, all clad in complete armour,

and their horses covered with housings of velvet or satin, having on each a white cross.

Thus did the king advance until he came within bow-shot of the beauvoisine gate, near to the carthusian convent, where the count de Dunois, his lieutenant-general, came out to meet him, mounted on a charger covered with crimson velvet, and himself dressed in a crimson-velvet jacket trimmed with sables: he was girt with a magnificent sword, whose pummel was set with diamonds, pearls and rubies, to the value of fifteen thousand crowns. The seneschal of Poitou, and Jacques Coeur, master of the king's wardrobe, attended him mounted on chargers covered and clad like to the lieutenant-general. The bailiff of Evreux and sir William Cousinot were also there,—the first mounted on a charger covered with crimson velvet, and himself clad in the same stuff. Sir William Cousinot had lately been nominated bailiff of Rouen, and was dressed in blue velvet with rich clasps of silver gilt: his horse had housings of the same.

The lieutenant-general had brought

from the town, to do reverence to the king, the archbishop of Rouen, the bishops of Lisieux, Bayeux, and Coutances, and the principal inhabitants. When these prelates had done their obeisance, they returned into the town, leaving the citizens, who were very numerous, clad in blue with red hoods, with the lieutenant, who presented them to the king. After paying their humble reverence, they delivered the keys of their town into the hands of the king, as their sovereign lord; and after many fine speeches from them, which he heard with kindness, he gave the keys to the before-mentioned seneschal, appointing him governor of the place.

The king then began his entrance into the city in the same order as I have described; but the moment he began to move a procession of prelates and churchmen, in their pontifical habits, regulars and seculars, bearing jewels and relics, and accompanied by the four mendicant orders, came out to meet him, singing 'Te Deum laudamus,' for the joyful arrival of the king of France, their sovereign lord. They placed themselves before the chancellor of France, the

lord de la Fayette marshal of France, the lord de Gaucourt first chamberlain to the king, the lord de Presseignv, and Jacques Coeur, who all had their horses covered with velvet and satin, and had jackets of the same with white crosses. The count de Dunois placed himself directly before the king, near to the equerry of the stables.

It is certain, that in the memory of man, never was king seen with such a handsome body of chivalry, so finely dressed, nor so great a number of men at arms as the king of France had with him on his regaining his good city of Rouen. At the entrance of the gates, a youth, aged about twelve or thirteen years, and son to the lord de Presseigny, was knighted by the seneschal of Poitou. At the gate of the bulwark were four of the most distinguished of the citizens with an exceedingly rich canopy, which they held over the head of the king until he came to the church of our Lady in Rouen. All round this gate, and on the bulwark, were immense crowds of people, who, on the king's entrance in the midst of his men at arms, sang

carols for joy at the happy event. In all the squares were different pageants: in one was a fountain ornamented with the arms of the town, namely, a lamb, who spouted out liquors from his horns. Elsewhere was a tyger with its young ones, who were admiring themselves in looking glasses; and near to the church of our Lady was a flying stag, sumptuously made, having on his neck a crown,—and he kneeled down, by way of reverence to the king as he passed on his way to the church.

At this place were the count de Dunois with lord Talbot and the english hostages at a window to see the pageant: the last were very pensive, and hurt at heart, on witnessing a sight so disagreeable to their interests. The king dismounted on his arrival before the church, where he was received by the archbishop and his clergy, richly dressed in their copes. Having entered the church, he continued some time in prayer, and thence went to the palace of the archbishop, where he was lodged.

Every one now returned to their homes, —and the populace made great bonfires in all the streets, to testify their joy on the oc-

casion. The archbishop, on the morrow, led several solemn processions,—and the day was kept sacred from all labour and work, the same as if it had been Sunday. On the Wednesday and Thursday, the rejoicings were continued, and tables were spread in the street, covered with meats and wines for all comers, at the expense of the inhabitants. They also made rich presents to the king, his officers, his heralds and pursuivants, then present. While the king remained at the archbishop's palace, the churchmen, citizens and inhabitants, required an audience of him, touching certain requests they had to make. On its being granted, they entered the great hall, where the king was seated on his throne richly adorned, and himself dressed in cloth of gold, surrounded by his ministers. They proposed various measures to him, and, in the number, most humbly supplicated that he would be graciously pleased to pursue his ancient enemies the English; for by means of the towns they yet possessed in Normandy they were still enabled to do great mischiefs to the country. To assist him in this measure, they offered their lives and fortunes.

The king was well pleased with their proposal, more particularly with their offers of service and of money, and made, by means of the chancellor, a satisfactory answer to all they had proposed. They then took their leave, and retired to their homes. The king staid some time in Rouen to remodel the government of it; during which the English surrendered all the places they had given hostages for namely, the castle of Arques, Tancarville, Lillebonne, Monstierville* and Caudebec. But although they had engaged to restore Honfleur, it was not done, because the governor refused to obey, in this point, the orders of the duke of Somerset, and, consequently, the lord Talbot with the other hostages remained prisoners to the king of France. Sir Pierre de Brézé, seneschal of Poitou, was appointed governor of Rouen.

* Monstierville—should be *Montivilliers*, a town in Normandy, three leagues from Havre, eight from Fécamp.

CHAP. XV.

THE CASTLE OF GAILLON SUBMITS TO THE OBEDIENCE OF THE KING OF FRANCE.—FOUGERES SURRENDERS TO THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, AND BELLÊME* TO THE DUKE OF ALENÇON.—A WELL-FOUGHT BATTLE TAKES PLACE BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH.

On the 23d of November, in this year, the impregnable castle of Gaillon surrendered to the king's forces, after a siege of six weeks. The english garrison amounted to from one hundred to six score, and marched away on capitulation, to carry with them their effects to Harfleur, or to any other place under their subjection.

About the same time, the duke of Brittany gained the town and castle of Fougeres, after a siege of a month. He had battered the walls with his cannons and bombards so that the breaches were nearly wide enough to storm, when the English,

* Bellême,—a town in Perche, 10 leagues from Alençon.

seeing their danger, and knowing their provisions were expended, surrendered on capitulation. Their captain was sir Francis de Surienne, called the Arragonian, having under his command from five to six hundred men,—and they were allowed to march away with their horses and arms, but each with only a small bundle before him. This sir Francis afterwards turned to the French, and took the oaths of allegiance to the king, notwithstanding that he had taken the town of Fougeres from the duke of Brittany, and thus had broken the truce between the kings of France and England.

The duke of Brittany had, at that time, in his army, eight thousand combatants, lords, knights and esquires; but after the surrender of Fougeres they returned home, on account of the great mortality in the army, which carried off very great numbers, and among the rest the son of the viscount de Rohan, which was a great pity. The duke went also into Brittany, after he had placed sufficient garrisons in his conquests.

Toward the end of November, the

duke of Alençon laid siege to his town and castle of Bellême, then occupied by the English contrary to his will. He had with him about three hundred lances, knights and esquires, and a body of archers, without including the peasantry from the countries of Maine and Vendôme, who were estimated at three thousand fighting men. After several skirmishes and sallies, the English, finding all resistance vain, entered on a treaty with the duke, and engaged to surrender the town and castle on the 20th day of December, unless their friends should appear on that day in sufficient force to give the duke battle and conquer him.

The duke, therefore, intrenched his army on the plain to wait the arrival of the English, who were on their march to relieve the place. Two thousand of them had advanced to Torigny*, and, on their departure, had set it on fire, and proceeded to Thury†, where they received certain intelligence of the exact strength of the duke's army, and in consequence marched back again. On the 20th day of Decem-

* Torigny,—a small town in Normandy.

† Thury,—a small town in Normandy.

ber, the duke of Alençon and the lord de Saintrailles drew their army up in battle-array, and waited thus until the hour for the appearance of the enemy was passed. The captain of the english garrison in Bellême, called Matago*, having about two hundred combatants with him, then surrendered the place, and marched away in safety with their effects, according to the terms of the capitulation, whither they pleased.

About Christmas-day, the english garrison in Vire†, to the number of twelve score, marched out to seek adventures, but were met by a party of the constable's men in garrison at Gourey‡, near to the Croix de Vamoux, under the command of sir Geoffry de Couvran, Joachim Rouhault, and others, when a very sharp engagement took place,—but the English were discomfited, so many being killed or taken that few escaped.

* Matago. Q. Matthew Gough?

† Vire,—on the river Vire in Normandy, diocese of Bayeux, generality of Caen.

‡ Gourey. Q. if not Gournetz, a village in Normandy.

CHAP. XVI.

THE KING OF FRANCE LEAVES ROUEN.—HE SENDS HIS LIEUTENANT-GENERAL TO BESIEGE HARFLEUR, WHICH SURRENDERS ON CAPITULATION.—THE FAIR AGNES IS TAKEN ILL.—HER DEATH, AND HER LAST TESTAMENT.

THE king of France, having settled the government of Rouen to his satisfaction, marched thence clothed in a brigandine, having over it a jacket of gold tissue, accompanied by the king of Sicily, and the other princes of his blood, magnificently dressed, more especially the count de St Pol, whose horse's forehead-piece was valued at thirty thousand francs.

Thus attended, the king rode to Caudebec,—in which town it was resolved to lay siege to Harfleur; and in consequence, he advanced to Montivilliers, which is but half a league distant from Harfleur, and thence detached his lieutenant-general, the count de Dunois, to open the trenches. The count had with him the counts d'Eu,

de Clermont, de Nevers, de Castres, with many men at arms, archers and franc archers, so that his force was estimated at six thousand men, without including the franc archers, who amounted to three thousand, or the cannoneers, labourers, and followers, or the mariners who blockaded the place with twenty-five large vessels, or those who had besieged the abbey of Graville, amounting, in the whole, to more than a thousand men.

The siege was commenced on the 8th day of December, with many difficulties, —for there were neither houses nor trees near at hand, and the weather was more severe, by reason of frosts and inundations, than had been experienced for some time. The besiegers suffered also greatly from the sea, which at times destroyed their huts, which were composed only of earth covered with juniper branches.

Sixteen large bombards were pointed against the walls, which the king came frequently from Montivilliers to see fired. Deep trenches of communication were formed, wherein the king often exposed his person, armed only with a light helmet and

covering shield, to witness the effect of this battery against the walls. Covered trenches were carried to the very walls of Harfleur; and these mines and trenches were formed under the directions of master John Bureau, treasurer to the king, in conjunction with his brother Jasper, grand master of the royal artillery, both very expert and able in the sciences.

Thomas Aurmagan*, governor of Harfleur, and the English with him, to the amount of sixteen hundred, receiving pay; witnessing the great preparations of the king of France, opened a treaty with the count de Dunois, on the eve of Christmas-day, for the surrender of the place. On the morrow, the capitulation was signed, —and they were to march away with their baggage, and were allowed to transport their effects by land or sea, the term for so doing being limited to the first day of the year. Eight english gentlemen were given as hostages for the due performance of the treaty, who were sent under an escort to Montivilliers. On the first day of January,

* Thomas Aurmagan. Q.

they were brought back to Harfleur, for the accomplishment of the treaty. About vespers, Thomas Aurmagan, the governor, presented the keys of the gates and towers to the count de Dunois, with much reverence and kneeling, in the presence of all the English, and even before master Sanice*, who had brought a reinforcement of five hundred English just before the siege.

The lieutenant-general, on receiving the keys, sent a party to take possession of the towers, and to lower the english standard, of a red cross on a white field, that was flying on one of them. He afterwards ordered two heralds to replace it with the standard of France, which was done with the shouts and rejoicings of the populace. The count also posted a party of his men in the towers on the side toward Rouen. This day, the greater part of the English departed; but as all could not be ready by the return of the tide, the lieutenant-general listened to their humble supplications, and permitted those who remained to tarry there until the Friday and

* Master Sanice. Q.

Saturday at midday, and appointed a guard over them that they might not be ill treated. When the English were all gone, the king gave the government of Harfleur to the count de Dunois, who appointed the lord de Moy his lieutenant, with one hundred lances and a proportionate number of archers for its defence, and for that of the country around.

Jacques de Clermont, esquire, was made governor of Montivilliers,—and he had likewise one hundred spears and archers for its guard, and for the defence of other forts in the neighbourhood. The king, having made these appointments, left Montivilliers on the 5th day of January: he ordered detachments of his army to march through Rouen, Caudebec and Tancarville, to besiege Honfleur, and went himself to the abbey of Jamieges*, on the Seine, five leagues below Rouen, where he remained for some time, while preparations were making for the siege of Honfleur.

At this abbey, the king met the fair

* Jamieges,—a market-town on the Seine, two leagues from Caudebec, six from Rouen.

Agnes, who had come thither (as she said) to give the king information that some of his officers intended to deliver him up to his enemies the English. The king, however, paid no attention to the intelligence, but laughed at it. This fair Agnes had been five years in the service of the queen, during which she had enjoyed all the pleasures of life, in wearing rich clothes, furred robes, golden chains, and precious stones; and it was commonly reported that the king often visited her, and maintained her in a state of concubinage,—for the people are more inclined to speak ill than well of their superiors.

The affection the king showed her was as much for her gaiety of temper, pleasing manners, and agreeable conversation, as for her beauty. She was so beautiful that she was called the Fairest of the Fair, and the Lady of Beauté, as well on account of her personal charms as because the king had given her for life the castle of Beauté, near Paris. She was very charitable, and most liberal in her alms, which she distributed among such churches as were out of repair, and to beggars.

It is true, that Agnes had a daughter, who lived but a short time, which she said was the king's, and gave it to him as the proper father: but the king always excused himself, as not having any claim to it. She may indeed have called in help, for the matter was variously talked of.

At length, she was seized with a bowel-complaint, and was a long time ill,—during which, she was very contrite, and sincerely repented of her sins. She often remembered Mary Magdalen, who had been a great sinner, and devoutly invoked God and the virgin Mary to her aid. Like a true catholic, after she had received the sacraments, she called for her book of prayers, in which she had written with her own hand the verses of St Bernard, to repeat them. She then made many gifts (which were put down in writing, that her executors might fulfil them, with the other articles of her will), which, including alms and the payment of her servants, might amount to nearly sixty thousand crowns. Her executors were Jacques Coeur, counsellor and master of the wardrobe to the king, master Robert Poictevin, physician, and master Ste-

phen Chevalier, treasurer to the king, who was to take the lead in the fulfilment of her will, should it be his gracious pleasure.

The fair Agnes, perceiving that she was daily growing weaker, said to the lord de la Trimouille, the lady of the seneschal of Poitou, and one of the king's equerries called Gouffier, in the presence of all her damsels, that our fragile life was but a stinking ordure. She then required that her confessor would give her absolution from all her sins and wickedness, conformable to an absolution, which was, as she said, at Loches, which the confessor, on her assurance, complied with. After this, she uttered a loud shriek, and called on the mercy of God, and the support of the blessed virgin Mary, and gave up the ghost on Monday, the 9th day of February, in the year 1449, about six o'clock in the afternoon. Her body was opened, and her heart interred in the church of the said abbey, to which she had been a most liberal benefactress; and her body was conveyed, with many honours, to Loches, where it was interred in the collegiate church of our Lady, to which also she had made many handsome

donations, and several foundations. May God have mercy on her soul, and admit it into paradise !*

* Agnes Sorel, says Moreri, was one of the handsomest women of her time. She was a native of Promenteau, a village of Touraine, in the diocese of Bourges. King Charles VII. no sooner saw her than he fell in love with her. This prince made her great presents, and gave her the castle of Beauté sur Marne. It is said that his affection for her caused him to neglect public business, but that Agnes contrived to excite him with such animosity against the English that he exerted his utmost efforts to drive them out of the kingdom. It is added, that she assured him that an astrologer had foretold to her that she would captivate the affections of the greatest king in the world, but that this prediction had no reference to him, since he neglected to establish his authority in a state which his enemies had usurped, and that, in order to accomplish it, she would be obliged to repair to the court of the king of England. These reproaches roused the king from his lethargy,—and he took the field to gratify, at once, his love and his ambition. On this subject it is also said, that Francis I. being one day in the house of the count d'Estampes, who had been his governor, and who was then grand master of France, he amused himself with looking into a port-folio which was upon the dressing table of the countess, who was fond of painting, and had drawn in it the portraits of divers illustrious persons, and among others of Agnes Sorel. The king made devices and verses for each of these portraits,—and under that of the fair Agnes he wrote the following lines with his own hand.

CHAP. XVII.

THE COUNT DE FOIX RAISES A LARGE ARMY TO BESIEGE THE CASTLE OF GUISCHEN.—THE ENGLISH ASSEMBLE TO RAISE THE SIEGE, BUT ARE DEFEATED BY THE LORD DE LAUTREC AND THE BASTARD DE FOIX.

ABOUT this period, the count de Foix raised a large army, and caused the strong castle of Guischen, situated four leagues from Bayonne, to be besieged by his brother, the lord de Lautrec, and the bastard de Foix. The English, on hearing this, instantly took the field with four thousand combatants, under the command of the constable of Navarre. He had with him the mayor of Bayonne, George Saltviton*,

'Plus de loüange et d'honneur tu merites,
La cause étant de France recouvrer,
Que ce que peut dedans un cloitre ouvrer
Close nonnain, en bien devot hermite.'

* Saltviton. In the MS. of Du Cange, it is *Soliton*; but this seems as far from the true name as the other.

and many other English, who, having embarked their stores on the river that runs through Bayonne, to convey them near to this castle, marched as close to the vessels as they could.

News of their intentions was carried to the besiegers, who marched as secretly as possible to meet them, and made so sharp an attack on the English that they were driven from their boats, and lost twelve hundred of their men in killed and taken. When Saltviton witnessed this defeat, fearing it was impossible to recover the boats, he broke gallantly through the french army with only sixty lances, and saved himself for the moment in one of the outworks of the castle. Finding that he could not long maintain himself in his present post, he marched away with his men, thinking to regain Bayonne; but the bastard de Foix, knowing his departure, immediately pursued him, and made him and the greater part of his men prisoners.

On the morrow, the castle surrendered, and all the country between Dax and Bayonne,—in which were from fifteen to sixteen strong places, that surrendered to

the count de Foix. When these forts had been sufficiently garrisoned, the count's army was marched home.

The siege of Honfleur was commenced with great courage on the 17th day of January, while the king remained at Jamieges, by his lieutenant general, the count de Dunois, and the other lords before named. The franc archers, who had been sent by these lords in advance ten or twelve days before, to skirmish with the english garrison of Honfleur, did their duty well.

When the blockade was completed, the king left Jamieges, and fixed his quarters at the abbey of Grestain, two leagues from Honfleur. On his arrival, the approaches and trenches were pushed forward with vigour, and many cannons and bombards were pointed against the walls, to the astonishment of those within the town.

The governor of the place was called master Courson*, having a garrison of three or four hundred English who exerted themselves valiantly in their defence with can-

‡ Courson. Q. Curzon?

nons and other missile weapons. By their means was killed a gallant Frenchman, named Regnault William, le Bourgognon, then bailiff of Montargis, which was a great loss. At length, the English were so overpowered by fear and want of provision that they were constrained to demand a parley, to arrange terms of capitulation; and they agreed to surrender the town and castle on the 18th day of February, unless there should appear a force sufficient to relieve them, by conquering the French, and gave hostages for its due performance, on which they were to march away with their effects in safety.

The French now fortified their camp, and made preparations for a combat, but the English did not appear; for the duke of Somerset dared not leave Caen ungarrisoned, and, besides, they were not strong enough to expect success without great reinforcements from England. The place was therefore surrendered according to the terms of the capitulation, and the English marched to other parts under their obedience.

Soon after the reduction of Honfleur,

the king left the abbey of Grestain, and went to Berucy*, and thence to Essay† and Alençon. He ordered a party of his guards, with the franc-archers, to lay siege to Fresnay‡, which was under the government of two Englishmen, called Andrew Torfflot§ and Janequin Vaquier‖, having with them from four to five hundred English and Normans, called French Renegadoes. The French advanced before the place in a numerous body, in handsome array, which so much alarmed the governors that they instantly offered to treat for a surrender. After a short discussion, it was agreed, that on the place being given up to the king of France, together with ten thousand golden saluts, their captain, called

* Berucy,—Bernay, a market-town in Normandy, twenty leagues and a half from Alençon. MS. Du Cange.

† Essay,—a market-town in Normandy, five leagues from Alençon.

‡ Fresnay. There are two villages of this name in Normandy.,

§ Andrew Torfflot. Troslo.——MS. Du Cange. Q. if not Truslow?

‖ Janequin Vaquier. Basquier and Baquier.—— MS. Du Cange.

Montfort*, who had been made prisoner at Pont Audemer, should be restored to them, and they should be allowed to march away in safety with their baggage. Thus was the place surrendered,—and the English departed, on the 22d day of March, for Caen or Falaise, or to wherever else they pleased.

During the time of Lent, in this year, three thousand English landed at Cherbourg, under the command of sir Thomas Kiriel, a knight of great experience and renown, and marched to lay siege to Valognes†, which was under the government of an esquire from Poitou, called Abel Rohault. He held it valiantly for some time, for his brother Joachim Rohault; but having no hope of succour, he was forced to surrender it to sir Thomas Kiriel, after a defence of three weeks, and was allowed to march his men away in safety with all they possessed.

The king's army was, at the time, collecting to raise the siege; as were the Eng-

* Montfort. Q. if not lord Fauconberg? See in the preceding pages.

† Valognes,—five leagues from Cherbourg.

lish to oppose them, from their different garrisons,—namely, sir Robert Vere, in Caen, had six hundred combatants,—Henry Morbery, in Vire, had about four hundred,—Matago, in the town of Bayeux, had eight hundred fighting men,—so that they amounted in all, including sir Thomas Kiriel's force, to six or seven thousand combatants. The French, learning this, suffered the town to be surrendered without any attempt to the contrary,—for they could not be assembled in time, considering that the king's army was then dispersed in cantonments throughout Normandy, for the better preservation of their conquests.

[A. D. 1450.]

CHAP. XVIII.

AFTER THE CAPTURE OF VALOGNES BY SIR THOMAS KIRIEL, HE TAKES THE FIELD WITH A LARGE ARMY OF ENGLISHMEN.—HE IS MET BY THE COUNT DE CLERMONT, WHO ATTACKS AND DEFEATS HIM.

On the 12th day of April, in the year 1450, after Easter, sir Thomas Kiriel dislodged from Valognes, having with him the greater part of the garrisons of Caen, Bayeux, and Vire, and, crossing the fords of St Clement*, advanced toward the country of Bayeux and Caen. Intelligence of this movement was carried to the french head-quarters, and a detachment was ordered to pursue them, under the command of the count de Clermont, the count de Castres, the seneschal of Poitou, the lord de Montgascon and de Retz, admiral of France, and others, to the amount of five or six

* St Clement,—a village near to Bayeux.

hundred spears and archers. Although they were so few in numbers, they continued their pursuit until they overtook them. Sir Geoffry de Couvran and Joachim Rohault had, some little time before, separated from them to seek if they could gain any information of the enemy, and luckily fell in with their track. Notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, they boldly and courageously made an attack on their rear-guard, and killed and wounded several. They then retreated, and sent notice of what they had done to the count de Clermont, who was not far off. He hastened to come up with the English, which he did near a village called Fourmigny, between Carentan and Bayeux, on the 18th of the same month.

The English, on perceiving the enemy, drew up in battle-array, and sent in haste to a captain, called Matago, who had that morning quitted them for Bayeux, but instantly returned to the aid of his companions.

The two armies remained drawn up facing each other for three hours, while a continual skirmish was going forward,—

during which, the English made, with their swords and daggers, deep holes in their front, that those who should charge them might fall in with their horses: they were also very advantageously posted, for they had, within a bow-shot of their rear, a small river with gardens and orchards thick planted with fruit-trees, so that they could not be attacked on that quarter.

The count de Clermont, observing their situation, and considering that he had not an adequate force to combat them, dispatched a messenger in haste to St Lo, to require that the count de Richemont, constable of France, would come to his succour,—otherwise he and his men would have more work on their hands than they could accomplish, for that the English greatly outnumbered his force.

The constable, on receiving this intelligence, instantly set out, at three o'clock in the morning of the same day, the 18th, to his assistance, although he was but just arrived from Brittany without halting. He rode to Trevieres*, accompanied by the

* Trevieres,—a market-town near Bayeux.

lord James de Luxembourg, the count de Laval, the lord marshal de Lohéac, and from two hundred to twelve score lances and eight hundred archers. They advanced with great rapidity (for the English had already crossed the ford) until they came to the windmill above Fourmigny, where they drew up in order of battle in sight of the English.

The count de Clermont had begun the engagement with his army of a thousand to fifteen hundred men before the arrival of the constable, and had been sharply repulsed by the English, who had taken from them two culverines. The constable first marched his men to gain a stone bridge,—but no sooner did Matago and sir Robert Vere perceive this manœuvre of the constable than they fled with a thousand of their men from Caen and Bayeux. Kiriel and the remainder retreated toward the rivulet, and occupied the village that was hard by.

Part of the constable's archers, having dismounted at the end of the bridge, attacked the left wing of the English,—and many were killed and put to the rout. The constable now crossed the rivulet and join-

ed the count de Clermont; when the grand seneschal of Normandy asked his permission to march his division toward the enemy's right wing, which being granted, the English were slain and defeated. The main body of the constable's men marched now in handsome order until they were near the village, and crossed the brook by the high road. The English were so much alarmed that they quitted the village, and advanced to the rivulet, where a well-fought engagement took place; but although the French were in all not more, according to the report of the heralds, than three thousand combatants, and the English from six to seven thousand, nevertheless, by the grace of God, the French defeated them. From the accounts of the heralds, priests, and credible persons, three thousand seven hundred and seventy-three were slain, and buried in fourteen deep trenches on the spot.

Among the prisoners were sir Anthony* Kiriel, sir Henry Norbery†, sir Tho-

* Anthony. He is called *Thomas* before.

† Norbery. Before Morbery. Probably Norbury.

mas Drieut*, Thomas Kirby, Christopher Auberton, Arpel, Helix Alengour, Jannequin Vacquier, Gobert Caleville, and numbers of other captains, and english gentlemen bearing coats of arms. Conformably to the old proverb, of 'He who fights and runs away, may live to fight another day,' did those act who fled and left their companions to bear the brunt of the battle, namely, Matago, sir Robert Vere, Henry Lons, master Meillan, and another captain who commanded thirty lances and five hundred archers. The prisoners taken at this battle were estimated at from twelve to fourteen hundred. Matago fled to Bayeux, and sir Robert to Caen,—and thus, by the favour of Divine Providence, were the English defeated.

On this day, the following were made knights: the count de Castres, son to the count de la Marche,—Godfrey de Boulogne, son to the count de Boulogne and Auvergne,—the lord de Vauvert, son to the count de Villars, the lord de St Severe, the lord de Chalençon, and several more. The

* Drieut. Q. Trivet?

French only lost this day, by death, eight persons at the most!

The army now marched to lay siege to the town and castle of Vire. After their departure, a dispute arose among the captains, to whom the honour of the day was due: some said to the constable, as being, from his office, lieutenant-general for the king in all parts of the realm; but others claimed it for the count de Clermont, he having been specially ordered on this service,—and a special order ought to supersede a general one. It came to such a length that it was referred to the king, who decided in favour of the count de Clermont, although it was through the constable's able support that he had gained the victory.

News of this success was soon spread all over the kingdom of France; and coming to the ears of master William Charrier, bishop of Paris, he immediately ordered a procession to be made to the church of Nôtre Dame of all children, as well male as female, that were at school, from the age of seven to eleven years, to return thanks to God for the signal victory the most Christian king had obtained over his an-

cient enemies. The procession, consisting of from twelve to fourteen thousand children, attended by their masters and tutors, set out from the church of St Innocent, where they were assembled, each with a wax taper, or other light, in his hand. The chaplains of the church were in the center, bearing the relics of Saint Innocent,—and the procession extended from this church to that of our Lady, and was a fine sight to see, and did great honour to the bishop. On its arrival at the church of Nôtre Dame, a solemn mass was sung, and the bishop preached a sermon, taking for his text the second verse of the eighth Psalm,—'Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger.' When the service was over, they returned two and two as they had come, conveying back the relics to the church of Saint Innocent, —and thence each child went to its school.

About this period, the duke of Suffolk quitted a strong castle into which he had retired for fear of the English, who would have put him to death, and embarked for

foreign countries; but he was met at sea by the partisans of the duke of Somerset, who laid hands on him and cut off his head, which they sent, with the body, to their friends in London, who hung up the quarters at the different gates.*

The French, without loss of time, after their late victory, marched to besiege the town of Vire, in which was a garrison of three or four stout english combatants: their captain was sir Henry Norbury, then a prisoner, in consequence of the defeat at Fourmigny. The siege did not last long before the commandant capitulated to surrender, on being allowed to march away in safety with the garrison and baggage to Caen. The french army was now divided: one part, under the count de Clermont, marched toward Bayeux,—and the other, with the constable, returned to the duke of Brittany, to lay siege to Avranches†.

* See the english historians for a more correct account of the end of the duke of Suffolk.

† Avranches, — a bishoprick in Normandy, 75 leagues from Paris, 50 from Rouen.

CHAP. XIX.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY BESIEGES AVRANCHES, WITH HIS WHOLE FORCE. — IT SURRENDERS TO HIM.— HE TAKES TOMBELAINE*. — BAYEUX IS WON. --- THE CONSTABLE GAINS BRICQUEBÈC†, VALOGNES‡, ST SAUVEUR LE VICOMTE§, — OTHER INCIDENTS.

WHEN the duke of Brittany's army was returned to him, and had taken some rest, he mustered his men, and without delay began his march, well attended by artillery, to besiege the town of Avranches, which was garrisoned by four or five hundred English under the command of a captain called Lampet‖. The duke display-

* Tombelaine, — a small island, or rock, on the coast of Normandy, between Avranches and St Malo.

† Bricquebec. Probably Bricquebosq, a village in Normandy, near Valognes.

‡ Valognes, — a large town between Cherbourg and Carentan.

§ St Sauveur le Vicomte, near Valognes.

‖ Lampet. Q. Lambert?

ed great ability and courage in forming the siege, during which many skirmishes took place between the parties.

This siege lasted three weeks, when the walls were so battered that the captain and garrison were reduced to surrender; but although they proposed different terms of capitulation, they could only obtain permission to march away in safety, but without arms or baggage; so that, when the place was given up, they departed with staves in their hands. On the reduction of Avranches, the duke of Brittany advanced with his army to Tombelaine, which is impregnable, so long as provision and stores last; for it is seated on a rock in the sea, near to St Michael's Mount. There was in it an english garrison of from four score to one hundred men,--but they no sooner perceived the great force that was brought against them than they capitulated to surrender the place, on being permitted to march to Cherbourg in safety with their baggage and effects.

On the 16th day of May, the king of France ordered the counts de Dunois, de Nevers, d'Eu, and several other knights

and esquires, to lay siege to Bayeux. In consequence, they encamped near to the town, and pushed forward the siege with such vigour, by mines and battering cannon, that many breaches were made in the wall, wide enough to be stormed; but the commanders were averse to this, to avoid the effusion of blood and the numberless other evils that would ensue. However, notwithstanding this laudable resolution, the ardour and avarice of soldiers to become rich induced part of the army, without orders, to storm the town twice in the same day, when many gallant deeds were done on both sides, and several were killed by arrow and culverine shots. The French were forced to retreat without success, for the storm had been only made on one side: had this measure been carried on under the direction of their officers, it must undoubtedly have succeeded.

Matago, the governor of Bayeux, surprised at the valour he had seen displayed by the French at this attack, for they had slain some of the stoutest of the English, opened a treaty with the count de Dunois for its surrender; but after many parleys,

he could only obtain permission for his men to march away without arms or baggage and with staves in their hands. Thus marched away, by the castle-gate for Cherbourg, all the English, to the amount of nine hundred, esteemed the most valiant of their party; but in honour of nobility, horses were given to carry their damsels and gentle ladies,--and carts were also supplied to convey the most respectable of the women who followed their husbands. It was a pitiful sight thus to see from three to four hundred women, (without including children, who were very numerous,) some carrying their infants in cradles on their heads, others swinging them round their necks or in rolls of cloth round their bodies and in a variety of other ways.

On the restoration of Bayeux to the obedience of the king of France, the count de Dunois appointed a captain, and other officers, to govern the city, and then crossed the Orne*, with the count de Clermont,--and there cantoned the army,

* Orne,—a river in Normandy : it runs into the sea at Estreham.

to live on the country until the arrival of the count de Richemont, constable of France. He had left all his artillery at Bayeux to be ready for laying siege to Caen.

In the mean time, the constable, and those in his company,--namely, the troops of the lord de Laval, the marshal de Loheac, the troops of the admiral and of the lord de Touteville,--gained the town of Bricquebosq for the king of France, on permitting those within it to march away with their baggage and effects. The constable then besieged Valognes, that had lately been captured by the English; but it was not long before it surrendered, for the lieutenant-governor for the king of England had turned to the french interest. He, however, obtained from the constable that the english garrison, amounting to six score men, should march in safety, with arms and baggage, to Cherbourg.

On the departure of the duke of Brittany, the constable came to Bayeux, and thence sent sir James de Luxembourg his lieutenant, and Odet Dadic, with about thirty lances, to commence the siege of St Sauveur le Vicomte, which is a handsome

town, and one of the strongest in Normandy. They remained before it three days, waiting for the marshals of France and of Brittany, the lords de Touteville, de Boussac and others.

The lord Robersart, a baron of Hainault, was the governor, having with him two hundred english combatants,--and on the arrival of the marshals the place was besieged in earnest. During the opening of the trenches, a valiant esquire from Berry, called John de Blanchefort, was killed by a cannon-shot, whose loss was much lamented. The garrison witnessing the approaches of the French, although unhurt by their batteries, offered to surrender, on condition that they should depart in safety with their arms, baggage and effects, and be allowed eight days for clearing the place. Thus was St Sauveur le Vicomte restored to the king of France; and the marshals rode to a village called Ceaux*, within two leagues of Caen, where the constable and his company were quartered, carrying with them

* Ceaux,— a small town in Normandy, near Avranches.

the english hostages for the performance of the treaty,—and at the end of eight days, when the place was cleared, they were set at liberty.

CHAP. XX.

THE SIEGE OF CAEN.—THE KING OF FRANCE, ATTENDED BY THE KING OF SICILY AND HIS SON, THE DUKE OF CALABRIA, APPEAR BEFORE IT WITH A LARGE ARMY.—THE ENGLISH, AFTER SUSTAINING MUCH DAMAGE FROM THE BATTERIES, SURRENDER THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF CAEN.

On the 5th day of June, the constable and his division dislodged from Ceaux, and fixed his quarters in the abbey of St Stephen, in the suburbs of Caen, and near to the walls. On the same day, the count de Clermont, the count de Castres, and many other lords, knights and esquires, marched their men to the quarters of the constable: they amounted to twelve hundred spears, four thousand five hundred archers, gui-

sarmes*, and armour-bearers, and two hundred franc archers on foot.

The count de Dunois posted himself in the suburbs of Vaucelles, on the side toward Paris with a large company of nobles, men at arms and archers, to the amount of eight hundred lances, and two thousand archers, guisarmes, and armour-bearers on horseback, and two thousand franc archers on foot, so that the city was completely blockaded on its two sides. They instantly threw a bridge of communication between the two divisions over the river Orne, by which, the fourth day after, the counts of Nevers and of Eu passed a considerable body of men at arms and archers, and quartered them in the suburbs of Caen, toward the sea, at the abbey of la Trinité, a convent of women. They were scarcely arrived before they attacked an outwork of the town, which was valiantly defended, and many gallant deeds were performed on each side, but it was at length won by

* Guisarmes,—a kind of (offensive) long-handled and long-headed weapon; or, (as the spanish visarma) a staff that had within it two long pikes, which, with a shoot or thrust forward, come forth.——*Cotgrave.*

storm by the French. They soon deserted it, because it was open on the side near the walls,—and it was not re-occupied by the English, for they had destroyed its communication with the town by walling up the gate.

The king of France departed from Argentan*, to be present at this siege; attended by the king of Sicily, his son the duke of Calabria, the duke of Alençon, the counts of Maine, of St Pol, of Tancarville, and a numerous body of barons, knights, esquires, men at arms and archers, to the number of six hundred lances, and archers in proportion.

The king lay the first night at St Pierre sur Dive†,—on the morrow at Argentan,—and on the third day, he came to dinner in the suburbs of Vaucelles‡; after which, he instantly crossed the river by the new bridge, and was lodged at an abbey

* Argentan. I should suppose it must be Alençon.

† St Pierre sur Dive,—a market-town near Trouard in Normandy.

‡ Vaucelles,—a village in Normandy near Bayeux.

called Dardenne, where he remained during the whole siege, except one night that he passed in the abbey of la Trinité, wherein were quartered the king of Sicily, the duke of Calabria, and other lords, to the amount of a thousand lances.

The king had with him twelve thousand archers on horseback, one thousand guisarmes, and armour-bearers mounted also, and two hundred franc archers on foot, of whom the greater part were quartered in the villages round. The siege was pushed forward with the greatest diligence on the arrival of the king, and trenches were made round the town, in which every person individually exerted himself. The count de Dunois made an attack on the outworks of Vaucelles, on the river Dive*, which were valorously defended; but after many gallant deeds on both sides, they were gained by the French, and numbers of the English slain, wounded, and taken, to the great dismay of their companions.

From all the quarters of the French, deep mines were made even unto the

* The Dive separates the bishopricks of Lisieux and Bayeux, and loses itself in the Channel.

ditches of the town, more particularly from the constable's quarters, which advanced under St Stephen's,—so that all the wall above fell to the ground, and the French and English could there engage hand to hand. The English, perceiving the near approach of the enemy, were fearful of being taken by storm, and demanded to capitulate. The king of France, moved by compassion and pity, after the example of our Lord, who desires not the death of sinners, but would rather that they would turn to their God,—and considering what a loss the destruction of so fine a town would be, and the miseries that would ensue from pillaging the churches, violating women and damsels,—and desirous also of sparing a further effusion of human blood, consented to their request, and agreed that the place should be surrendered on capitulation. In truth, the town might have easily been taken by storm, as there were many practicable breaches; but the English might have retired into the castle, and have held out for a considerable time, if they had had the courage so to do,—although, in the end,

they must have yielded to the numerous chivalry then before it.

To show that the castle was tenable to those who have never seen it, I must say that it is the strongest in all Normandy, fortified with high and great bulwarks of a very hard stone, situated on a rock, and containing in extent as much as the whole town of Corbeil. It has a very strong keep, consisting of a large and high square tower, surrounded by four massy ones from the foot of the ditch to the level of the ground, the whole strengthened by a high wall all round, with towers at proper distances, and a very deep ditch cut out of the solid rock. In this castle were lodged the duke of Somerset, his lady and children,—and in the town were quartered sir Robert Vere, brother to the earl of Oxford, sir Henry Radford, and others, who commanded, under the duke of Somerset, four thousand English as the garrison of Caen.

In regard to the capitulation, several conferences were held between the English and French. On the part of the king, the count de Dunois, the seneschal of Poitou,

the lord John Bureau, treasurer of France, acted as commissioners;—for the English, sir Richard Herisson, bailiff of Caen, Robert Parges, and some others;—for the inhabitants, Eustace Gaingnet, lieutenant to the said bailiff, and the abbot of St Stephen's,—each alleging various articles, and supporting them by their arguments. After much discussion, a treaty was concluded on the morrow of the feast of St John Baptist, when the English promised to deliver up to the king of France the said town, castle and keep, on the first day of July next ensuing, unless they should combat and conquer the said king on or before that day, —and on condition that the duke of Somerset, his lady and children, and the other English who should wish to depart with them, should be allowed so to do, and to carry away with them all their effects and furniture without molestation or hinderance. They were also to take with them their horses and armour; and for the transport of these articles, they were to be provided with vessels to convey them to England, and to no other part, on their paying the expences: provided, however, that the

English gave up all their prisoners, and acquitted themselves of debt to the inhabitants of Caen, churchmen and others, without carrying away any thing belonging to them. They were also to leave behind their large and small artillery, with the exception of bows, cross-bows, and hand culverines.

For the due observance of this treaty, the English delivered twelve of their countrymen, two knights of Normandy and four of the principal inhabitants, as hostages.

As no succours arrived on the first day of July, the town, castle, and keep were surrendered. The aforesaid bailiff carried the keys of the keep to the french camp, and delivered them into the hands of the constable, in the presence of the count de Dunois, lieutenant-general, who immediately gave them to the count, as governor of the town and castle for the king of France. The new governor remained in the field, to see that the English took the strait road to Estreham*; but soon after

* Estreham,—at the mouth of the Orne, four leagues from Caen.

their departure, accompanied by the marshal de Jalognes, preceded by two hundred archers on foot, the king's trumpets and heralds, and having in his rear three equerries of the stables, bearing the royal banners, and the whole closed by one hundred men at arms on foot, he entered the town by the keep of the castle, and had the banners displayed from the keep and gates.

CHAP. XXI.

THE KING OF FRANCE MAKES HIS ENTRY INTO CAEN, AND IS NOBLY RECEIVED THERE.—THE ENGLISH SURRENDER FALAISE*.—POTON DE SAINTRAILLES IS APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF IT.—DOMFRONT† IS REDUCED TO THE KING'S OBEDIENCE.

On the 6th day of July, the king of France left the abbey of Dardenne, to make his entry into Caen, attended by all his

* Falaise,—nine leagues from Caen.

† Domfront,—twelve leagues from Mayenne, eight from Alençon.

nobles who had been at the siege, magnificently dressed, excepting his lieutenant-general and the marshal de Jalognes, who were already in the town. He was preceded by his two hundred archers, heralds and trumpets,---and when he was near the gates, the count de Dunois came out to meet him, followed by crowds of the townsmen: after making their obeisances, they most humbly presented the keys of the place to the king, who graciously received them. Then came the clergy in procession, as is usual in such cases. After which, the king entered the gates, four of the principal inhabitants holding a canopy over his head,---and thus the king rode through streets hung with tapestry, and in some places covered over, canopy-like, amidst the shouts of the people, unto the great church of St Peter, where he dismounted at the porch, to offer up his thanksgivings. He thence went to his lodgings, at the house of one of the burghers of the town, and remained there some days to settle with his lieutenant-general and ministers the future government and police of the place.

The lord de Croy, sir John de Croy

his brother, and the lord d'Arsy, came to the king while at Caen, on an embassy from the duke of Burgundy, to treat of a marriage with one of the king's daughters and the lord Charles, son to the duke, and on other weighty matters with which they were charged.

On this same 6th of July, the town of Falaise was besieged by Poton de Saintrailles, bailiff of Berry. He was joined on the Monday by Master John Bureau, treasurer of France, with the franc archers, to serve the artillery, of which he was grand master. When the English heard of his approach, they sallied out and sharply attacked him; but he defended himself and his artillery well until the lord de Saintrailles came to his assistance,—and the English were repulsed to the gates.

The king left Caen to attend this siege, and halted at an abbey called St Andrew's, within a league of Falaise. The king of Sicily, the duke of Calabria, the counts of Maine, of St Pol, of Tancarville, the viscount of Loumaigne, and others, were with him. The town was now surrounded on all sides; but as the king had a greater

body of chivalry than necessary for the gaining such a place, the counts of Richemont and of Clermont were ordered to besiege Cherbourg.

The garrison in Falaise consisted of fifteen hundred English, the very best of that nation that now remained in Normandy, under the command of two english gentlemen, named Andrew Troslet* and Thomas Cathon†, lieutenants to the governor the lord Talbot. When they saw the multitude of men at arms, archers, and cross-bowmen, that were drawn up before them, they demanded a parley with the count de Dunois, who, by the king's orders, sent them passports, that they might explain what they required. They met on the 10th, and asked to capitulate, which the king granted; when they appointed the 22nd day of July to surrender the place, unless they should, before that day, receive reinforcements to enable them to offer battle,---and on condition that the lord Talbot, who was their governor

* Andrew Troslet. Q. Truslow.

† Thomas Cathon. Q. Cawthorn.

for the king of England, and who at that moment was the king of France's prisoner in the castle of Dreux, should be set at liberty, on making certain promises to the king of France.

A truce was now proclaimed, to last from the 10th to the 22nd, and twelve hostages were delivered for its observance. The English were to march away with arms and baggage, in safety, for England, in case they should not be relieved on the day appointed. As no succours came to them they departed, according to the tenour of the capitulation, and delivered up the town and castle to the king, who made governor thereof Poton de Saintrailles, his master of the horse and bailiff of Berry.

On the 24th of July, after the reduction of Falaise, the lord Charles de Culant, grand master of the houshold, the lord de Blainville, the lord John Bureau, treasurer of France, who always had the command of the artillery, with fifteen hundred franc archers, marched to lay siege to the town and castle of Domfront. The english garrison amounted to seven or eight hundred; but when they heard of the

great body of chivalry and archers that were then in Normandy, they surrendered the place on the 2d day of August, on condition that they might depart in safety, with arms and baggage, for England, as I have already recounted, many of their countrymen had before done from different towns and castles.

CHAP. XXII.

THE DECEASE OF THE DUKE OF BRITTANY,—AND OF THE LORD GILES HIS BROTHER, WHOM HE HAD CRUELLY PUT TO DEATH BEFORE HIS DECEASE.—CHERBOURG IS BESIEGED BY SEA AND LAND, AND IS TAKEN BY THE FRENCH.

About the end of July, Francis duke of Brittany, nephew and vassal to the king of France, died of a natural death. He was a great loss to the kingdom; for he was an active prince, prudent and valiant, and had greatly exerted himself, personally, and with money, in the service of the king

in the conquest of Normandy, as has been related. This prince was naturally attached to the king of France, as was apparent by his making war on those whom he knew to be enemies to his crown. He carried his affection so far that he quarrelled with one of his own brothers, the lord Giles, because, in prejudice to the king of France, and without asking his permission, he had accepted of the order of the Garter, and also the appointment of constable, from the king of England.

When the duke first heard of this, he had his brother arrested and confined in one of his castles, where he was a long time closely guarded. He had been often admonished by the duke and his other relations and friends, wellwishers to France, to abandon the quarrel of the English, whom he supported against all reason, justice and right. When gentle means had been thus used in vain, other measures were resorted to; but he would not, on any account, agree to their proposals. The duke, therefore conceived a mortal hatred against him, and ordered him to be put to death. The duke was frequently summoned, by heralds

from the king of England, to deliver up his constable, whom he detained prisoner under the guard of Arthur of Montauban: on his refusal, the english monarch sent him his challenge, which made sir Giles's case worse than before,—and the duke's hatred so much increased that, it was commonly said, he was strangled by two twisted towels. Thus ended the days of sir Giles miserably and pitifully, which will be a great example to all others.

Of this sad transaction, however, there are different accounts in Brittany. Some say, that from a quarrel between de Moutauban and his accomplices, it has been discovered that they got him put to death by giving false information to the duke, expecting to gain by his decease; for sir Giles was very willing to renounce his connections with the English, and to act as his brother pleased; but that they sent the duke information quite the reverse, as has been confessed by some of his murderers, and declared to be the truth, for which they have been tried and suffered death: some indeed escaped, and, for very good

reasons, dare not again show themselves in that country.

The siege of Cherbourg, having been commenced by the count de Richemont and the other lords before mentioned, was carried on with great vigour; and the garrison was hard pressed by their mines and batteries, when a knight and esquire of Brittany were there killed. The knight was sir Pregent de Coitivy, lord of Rais*, slain by a cannon ball, to the great loss of the king,—for he was one of the most valorous knights of the realm, renowned for prudence and abilities. The esquire was Tuddual le Bourgeois, bailiff of Troyes, killed by a shot from a culverine,---a man of good reputation, and well acquainted with the art of war. The walls of the town were battered in such wise, from sea and land, as was never before seen; for there were batteries of bombards erected on the shore that threw immense stones, although they were overflowed by the sea at high water,---but as they were covered with greased skins, in which they were wrapped,

* Rais. Q. Retz?

the water did no damage to the powder they were charged with, and, as soon as the tide turned, the cannoneers took away their coverings and fired into the town, to the great astonishment of the English, who had never seen such an invention.

Four bombards and one cannon were burst when firing against the walls,—and many gallant deeds were done on sea and land, but more to the loss than profit of the English. This caused the governor, Thomas Gouvel*, esquire, who had under him one thousand combatants, to demand a capitulation from the constable, which he obtained. The terms were, that Gouvel should surrender the town and castle to the king of France, on condition that his son should be set at liberty, who was an hostage, on his part, for the payment of the sums of money due to the king of France and to the inhabitants of Rouen. On his son being restored, he delivered up the place to the king's commissioners on the 12th of August, and marched away with his son and soldiers, with their arms

* Thomas Gouvel. Q.

and baggage, in safety to England. The king appointed the lord de Bueil governor of Cherbourg, with four score lances and archers for its defence.

Thus was conquered the whole duchy of Normandy; and its towns and castles were reduced to the obedience of the king of France in the space of one year and six days, which was a marvellous event,—for never was so large an extent of country conquered in so little time, and with less shedding of blood, or damage done to the inhabitants. This was very honourable to the king of France, and to the nobles and others who had accompanied him on this expedition,—and they ought to render thanks to God, to whom alone the praise and glory are due.

The time of this expedition was also very favourable, and part of the success might be owing to it,—for it was the year of a general pardon of sins at Rome, called the Jubilee Year.

The duchy of Normandy*, is in length

* Normandy,—is bounded on the east by Picardy and the Isle of France,—on the south, by Maine and

six days journey, and four wide, containing six bishopricks and one archbishopric, and one hundred towns and castles, not including those which have been destroyed by the fortune of war.

The king ordered six hundred lances, with a proper proportion of archers, to remain in the duchy for its defence, and sent the remainder into Guienne. He then set out for Tours, where he arrived in the month of September, and there resolved in council that a general thanksgiving, with processions, should take place in all the churches throughout the realm on the 14th day of the ensuing October, and every year afterwards on the 12th day of August, for the happy success of his arms, and the expulsion of his ancient enemies the English from his duchy of Normandy.

Perche,—on the west, by the ocean,—on the north, by the Channel, which separates it from England.

It contains seven dioceses, or bishopricks,—Rouen, Bayeux, Avranches, Evreux, Sées, Lisieux, and Côutances,—in which are computed 4189 parishes, and 80 abbies, &c.——*Gazetteer.*

CHAP. XXIII.

THE AUTHOR PARTICULARISES THE VALOUR OF SEVERAL OF THE NOBLES IN THE CONQUEST OF NORMANDY.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS THE COUNT DE PENTHIEVRE, AS HIS LIEUTENANT, INTO GUIENNE.

WERE I to attempt particularising every valiant man, and his gallant deeds, on the reconquering of the duchy of Normandy, it would tire my reader's patience; but still I must mention some of the most renowned, for the benefit of those who, in future times, may peruse this account of the reduction of that duchy.

In the first place, the king of France had placed his army on a most excellent establishment,—and, as it was a novelty, it is worth describing. He had supplied all the men at arms and archers with good and secure habiliments,—namely, the men at arms with cuirasses, greaves, salades*,

* Salades,—light helmets or head-pieces.

and swords mounted with silver, as well as the lances which their pages bore; each man at arms had three horses, for himself, his page, and his varlet,—which last was armed with a light helmet, a brigandine†, jacket or haubergeon‡, battle-axe or guisarme. Every man at arms had attached to him two archers on horseback, dressed in brigandines, greaves and salades; the greater part of which were ornamented with silver; or wanting these, they had strong leathern jackets and haubergeons. The soldiers, when on service, were always paid monthly, and under such strict discipline that none dared to seize any thing unpaid for,—nor to make prisoners, or ransom man or beast unless they belonged to the English or to their friends. It was lawful to make plunder of whatever was their property, but not otherwise.

The chief captains on this expedition were the count de Dunois, lieutenant-ge-

† Brigandine, — armour consisting of many-jointed and scale-like plates, very pliant and easy for the body.

‡ Haubergeon, — a little coat of mail, or only sleeves and gorget of mail.

neral for the king, the counts de Nevers, de Castres, d'Eu, de St Pol, the lord de Culant, grand master of the household, the lords d'Orval, de Touteville, de Blainville, de Beauveau, de Bueil, de Beaunoir, de Moy in the Beauvoisis, the marshal de Jalognes, the seneschal de Poitou, John of Lorraine, Poton de Saintrailles, the bailiff of Evreux, Robert Conigan*, and very many other great lords, knights and esquires, who most valiantly conducted themselves, regardless of all the pains and discomforts they were bodily put to on several occasions.

In like manner, the king had made ample provision of all sorts of artillery for his defence, and for the attack of towns and castles. He had the greatest number and variety of battering cannon and bombards, veuglaires, serpentines, crapaudines, culverines and ribaudequins†, that had ever been collected in the memory of man;

* Conigan. Q Cuningham? commander of the scots auxiliaries.

† Ribaudequins,—huge cross-bows, fourteen feet in length. Veuglaires, serpentines and crapaudines,—different sorts of fire arms, greater or less.

and never king had such a train so well supplied with ammunition and every implement for battering towns, nor so numerous a body of men and horses to draw them. These received their pay daily, and were under the command of master John Bureau, treasurer of France, and of his brother Jasper Bureau, — both of whom suffered many difficulties during the sieges of the different towns and castles, for they were very active and attentive to their duty. It was wonderful to see their diligence in planning and forming the trenches and mines that were opened at almost every siege during this expedition; for, to say the truth, there was scarcely any place that surrendered on capitulation but what might have been won by storm, had not the king, out of his benign nature, insisted on the contrary, to prevent the effusion of blood and the total ruin of such places and their inhabitants.

The late duke of Brittany was the leader of the conquest of lower Normandy, having with him his uncle the count de Richemont, constable of France, the late Pregent de Coictivy, lord of Retz and ad-

miral of France, who laboured hard at the business, the count de Laval, the lord de Lohéac, marshal of France, his brother de Montauban, marshal of Brittany, Geoffry de Couvran, James de Tilly, bailiff of the Vermandois. Tuddual le Bourgeois was of this party during his life.

To find supplies for the support of the king's armies, and for the better government of this duchy of Normandy, the lord de Trainel, chancellor of France, the lord de Gaucourt, sir Thibaut de Vaulpergue, bailiff of Lyon, sir James Cœur, counsellor, and master of the king's wardrobe, exerted themselves greatly: the last, in particular, employed every means in his power to prevent the soldiers, who were daily increasing, from being disappointed of their regular monthly payment. Sir John du Bar, lord of Baugey, and sir John Harduyn, treasurer of France, gained great credit,—and all others who laboured at this time in the service of the king.

When king Charles of France, the seventh of the name, had thus, by the Divine grace, and his puissant chivalry, made the conquest of the duchy of Normandy,

which had been occupied about thirty years by his ancient enemies the English, and had replaced all the strong castles and principal towns with sufficient garrisons, and regulated the government of each,—confiding always in the grace and mercy of the King of kings, who wills that every one should have his own, as is declared in that chapter of St. Matthew's gospel, where our Lord says to the pharisee, 'Render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's and unto God the things that be God's;' he consequently resolved to march an army into Guienne against Bordeaux, which had been occupied by the English time immemorial, contrary to all reason and justice, and in direct contradiction to the said gospel. The nobles and people of this country have ever been rebellious against the french kings, at least for two hundred years, which is a long lapse of time, although it forms part of the realm of France.

The king, desirous to act with prudence and circumspection, summoned a council of his principal barons and knights on the 5th day of September, in the year 1450, in the city of Tours, where the matter was

fully discussed in their presence, and also in the presence of the princes of his blood and the chief prelates of the realm. It was then determined to send a force into Guienne, after proper provision had been made for the defence of Normandy, which was intrusted to the constable, having under him some norman knights and esquires, together with six hundred spears and a body of archers, paid monthly,—and a great number of franc archers were likewise ordered thither by the king. The government of the city of Rouen and the country of Caux was given to sir Pierre de Brézé, grand seneschal of Normandy.

The king then arranged the army that was to invade Guienne and besiege Bergerac*, situated in the county of Perigord, on the river Dordogne. He appointed the count de Penthievre and de Perigord, viscount de Limoges, his lieutenant-general in those parts, who accepted the command of this siege, and departed thither, accompanied by sir Charles de Culant lord de Jalognes, marshal of France, Poton de

* Bergerac,—seven leagues from Perigueux.

Saintrailles, bailiff of Berry and master of the horse to the king, with many other knights, esquires, and others, to the amount of five hundred lances, and archers in proportion.

They commenced the siege with great vigour, insomuch that, on the arrival of master John Bureau with his train of artillery, the garrison, alarmed at their numbers and activity, surrendered Bergerac to the king of France. The English marched away with their horses, arms and baggage, —and the inhabitants that chose to remain were, on taking the oaths of allegiance, to remain unmolested in their different occupations as before.

The count de Penthievre then marched his army into the winter quarters that had been allotted him,—and sir Philip de Culant remained governor of Bergerac, with a garrison of one hundred lances and a body of archers. On their march, they came before a castle called Jansac*, situated on the Dordogne, with the intent

* Jansac. Gensac. Several villages in Gascony of that name.

of besieging it; but they won it by storm, with the loss of seven or eight of their men killed and wounded: about thirty-five of the English were slain, and the rest made prisoners: the castle remained under the obedience of the king of France. The army advanced thence without delay to the town of St Foy, on the same river, which surrendered without hesitation. Pursuing their good fortune, they came before the town of Chalais*, and besieged it for some time; but the english garrison, amounting to fifty lances, alarmed at seeing so large an army before it, delivered up the place, on condition that they should march away in safety, with arms and baggage. On their departure, Pierre de Louvain was made governor of it.

On the 26th day of October, in this year, master John de Xancoins, receiver-general of the royal finances, was arrested, and confined prisoner in the castle of Tours, for having, as it was currently reported, wickedly employed for his own use the king's finances; so that his majesty was

* Chalais,—a town in Perigord, near La Grolle.

greatly distressed to pay the troops in Guienne,—and had he not found extraordinary means of raising money for this purpose, his plans against that country would have failed. During his imprisonment, he was examined by some of the great council and others skilled in matters of finance, and convicted, on his own confession, of high treason. He owned having taken very large sums of money from the king's treasury, and that he had made many erasures in his accounts which convicted him guilty of forgery,—a capital offence! and he would have suffered the penalty, had not the king's mercy converted the matter into a civil suit,—following in this the example of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST, who declared, that 'he wished not for the death of a sinner, but would rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live.' The capital part of the offence being thus done away, he was sentenced, by the mouth of the chancellor, to be imprisoned for a certain time, and his property confiscated to the king; from which, the king gave to the count de Dunois a handsome house that he had built at Tours.

Xancoins was also condemned to pay to the king the sum of sixty thousand gold crowns, which seemed but a trifling fine for the immense sums he owned to have pillaged from the treasury for his own pleasures.

James Carrier, his clerk, was confined at the same time with him, but in a separate prison, for having been an accomplice in the crimes of his master,—and for having erased numerous articles in the account of receipts, through the instigation of the enemy of mankind, and converted many sums from the king's profit to his own; for all of which, he would have suffered the sentence due to such capital crimes, had not the king's mercy been extended also to him.

CHAP. XXIV.

THE LORD D'ORVAL DEFEATS THE MEN OF BORDEAUX.—DUKE PETER OF BRITTANY DOES HOMAGE TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY ATTEMPTS TO LAY A TAX ON SALT THROUGHOUT FLANDERS.

On the last day of October in this year, the lord d'Orval, third son to the lord d'Albreth, set out from Bazas* with his companions, and from four to five hundred combatants, to invade the peninsula of Medoc†; and they halted for the night, to refresh themselves, in a forest within two leagues of Bordeaux. On the morrow, All-saints-day, they were early mounted, thinking to enter the peninsula, when they received information from Bordeaux, that

* Bazas,—a city of Gascony, on a rock, two leagues from the Garonne, capital of the Bazadois, 12 leagues from Bordeaux.

† Medoc,—a country of Guienne, near the sea, in the Bordelois: it is not fertile. Esparre is the capital.

from eight to nine thousand persons, on horseback and on foot, as well soldiers as others, were on their march to combat them.

The lord d'Orval did not for this abandon his enterprise, but drew up his men in order of battle, although so greatly inferior in numbers to the English, who were under the command of the mayor of Bordeaux. His light troops showed a good countenance, advancing in battle-array, and made prisoner a gentleman from Bordeaux, near to a coppice. The battle now commenced, and was so well fought by the French that eighteen hundred English and Bordelois were slain on the spot or in the pursuit. The first runaway was the mayor, who, being on horseback, abandoned his van, who were on foot, and whom he had advanced as a frontier to his main division. The French made twelve hundred prisoners, which was very honourable and profitable to them, considering how few they were in comparison with their enemies. At the conclusion of this business, the lord d'Orval marched his men back, with their pri-

soners, to Bazas, much rejoiced at their good success.

On the morrow of the feast of All-saints, duke Peter of Brittany waited on the king of France, as his sovereign lord, to do him homage for his duchy of Brittany, and took the accustomed oaths before the count de Dunois and de Longueville; when the king's great chamberlain took his baudrick, sword and buckler, for his fee. After he had taken the oaths, the chancellor of France said, that he was liege man to the king of France on account of this duchy, but the duke's chancellor replied, that, saving his respect to the king, he was not liege man to his majesty on account of this duchy,—which caused a long altercation. At length, the king accepted his homage according to the usages and manner that his predecessors, the dukes of Brittany, had done. Shortly after, he did another homage for his county of Montfort, for which he acknowledged himself the king's liege man and vassal. He was grandly entertained by the king and his chivalry, at the small town and castle of

Montbazon*, where the court then resided,—and also by the ladies and damsels, to whom he acquitted himself handsomely.

Many sports and pastimes of wrestling and other amusements took place during the fortnight the duke staid with the king, who was in high spirits and health. He had with him the count de Richemont his constable, and many barons, knights and esquires, to the number of from four to five hundred horses.

In the same year, according to the chronicles of Arras, Philip, then aged about fifty-four years, duke of Burgundy, Lotriche†, Brabant, Limbourg and Luxembourg, count of Flanders, Artois, Burgundy, Hainault, Holland, Zealand and Namur, marquis of the holy roman empire, lord of Frizeland, Salins and Mechlin, required from the states of Flanders (whom he had assembled for this purpose) that they would allow him to lay a tax of twenty-

* Montbazon,—in Touraine, five leagues from Tours.

† Lotriche. Q. Does this mean Austria? 'de l'Autriche.'

four groats, flemish money, on each sack of salt that should be used in that country; promising, in return, that, during his life, he would not lay any additional impositions, by taxes on land or otherwise.

The deputies from Ghent, having heard this proposal, demanded time to consider of it. These deputies took the lead; and having fully weighed the matter, and considering that the principal food of the commonalty was salted meats and fish, absolutely refused their consent; adding, that they would never, while alive, suffer such a tax to be laid on their country. The deputies from Bruges, Ypres, and the Franc, in conformity to what the ghent men had said, declared that they would act in unison with Ghent, and refused their assent.

[A. D. 1451.]

CHAP. XXV.

THE KING APPOINTS THE COUNT DE DUNOIS HIS LIEUTENANT-GENERAL IN GUIENNE, WHO BESIEGES MONT-GUYON.—IT SURRENDERS TO HIM.—HE LAYS SIEGE TO TOWN OF BLAYE, WHICH IS TAKEN BY STORM.—THE CASTLE CAPITULATES.

In the month of May, of the year 1451, according to the Chronicles of St Denis, during the king's residence at Tours, he appointed the count de Dunois and de Longueville, who had come thither for that purpose, his lieutenant-general in Guienne, to reduce that duchy to his obedience. Early in May, the king had issued his summons to several knights and esquires, that they might prepare themselves for accompanying the count on this expedition.

The lieutenant-general left Tours with a noble company, and marched to lay siege to a castle called Mont-Guyon, where he was joined by the count d'Angoulême,

legitimate brother to the duke of Orleans, master John Burèau, treasurer of France, Pierre de Louvain, and others, to the amount of four hundred spears, with archers and guisarmes, and four thousand franc archers, who instantly commenced the siege, without waiting for the other great barons who were to come thither. This siege lasted eight days; but the governor for the English, Regnault de St Jean, esquire, and attached to the captal de Buch, and a few men at arms, seeing the inutility of defence, against such an army, entered into a capitulation, by which the place was yielded up to the king of France.

On the 16th day of May, after the reduction of Mont-Guyon, the lieutenant-general laid siege to one of the gates of Blaye*. He was there joined by sir Pierre de Beauveau lord of la Bessiere, lieutenant to the count du Maine and captain of his men at arms, and by sir Geoffry de St Belin, having in their company about eight

* Blaye,—on the Garonne, 13 leagues and a half from Bordeaux.

score spears, guisarmes and archers. Thither came also sir James de Chabannes, grand master of the household, and Joachim Rohault, who posted themselves opposite the castle, and took their quarters at the hospital: they had with them two hundred lances and archers, and two thousand franc archers. At the same time, a large fleet arrived under the command of sir John le Boucher, general of France, in which were numbers of men at arms and archers, with great stores of provision for the supply of the besieging army. This fleet, as it came near to Blaye, found anchored in the port five large vessels well armed, which had arrived from Bordeaux with stores for the relief of those in the town of Blaye. An engagement took place, when the French fought valiantly, and killed so many of the enemy that they were forced to weigh anchor and fly to Bordeaux, whither they were chaced into the harbour. The french fleet then returned to Blaye, where they anchored before the port, to prevent any supplies from being thrown into the town.

Thus was Blaye besieged on all

sides, by land and water; and as this was completed, the count de Penthievre arrived, with one hundred lances and three hundred cross-bows, and was quartered near to the count de Dunois. Many gallant deeds were done, and deep trenches and mines made,—and the walls were so much battered, by heavy cannon and bombards, that there were breaches in several places. The most valiant warriors on the part of the king of England, in Guyenne, were then in the town; but a little before sunset, on the 28th day of May, at the hour of sounding to mount the guard, some franc archers of the company of John de Meauze, called the lord of Maugouverne, captain of the franc archers of Touraine, mounted the walls of the town, and a storm regularly followed,—when the place was won, and the English lost, in killed and prisoners, full two hundred men.

The mayor of Bordeaux, together with the lord de l'Esparre, the lord de Montferrant, and others—in all, about two hundred—hastily retreated into the castle; but, consulting together, they thought further resistance would be vain against such

members, without hope of being succoured, and surrendered the castle on capitulation.

Instantly on the reduction of the castle of Blaye, the count de Dunois marched his forces to besiege the town and castle of Le Bourg*. The siege did not, however, continue more than five or six days; for the garrison, observing the preparations for such large batteries of cannon and bombards, and the great strength of the besiegers, offered to surrender on being allowed to march away in safety with arms and baggage. There were from four to five hundred combatants in the place, under the command of sir Beraud de Montferrant, who departed with them for Bordeaux; and sir James de Chabannes, grand master of the household, remained governor of it for the king of France.

In this same month of May, the count d'Albreth, with his two sons the lords of Tartas and of Orval, three hundred lances and two thousand cross-bows, laid siege to

* Le Bourg,—a village near Bordeaux.

Dax*, on the side toward Bordeaux, and at the end of the bridge over the Adour. About ten or twelve hours after the siege had commenced, the count de Foix came thither, attended by the viscount de Lautrec his legitimate brother, sir Bernard de Béarn his natural brother, the barons of Nouailles, of Lausun, of Rez, of Courazze, sir Martin Gratian captain of the Spaniards, Robin Petit-Lot captain of the Scots, and many other knights and esquires; in the whole, amounting to five hundred lances and archers, and two thousand cross-bows. They besieged the town on the side of Navarre and Béarn, and several gallant actions were performed on both sides. The besieged kept up a stout resistance, until they heard that those in Bordeaux had intentions of treating with the lieuteuant-general or his commissioners; and a promise was made them, at the request of the count de Foix that they should be comprehended in whatever treaty the Bordelois should conclude. Dax was thus delivered up to the king of France,—and

* Dax,—an ancient city of Gascony, on the Adour.

the counts de Foix and d'Albreth, with four barons of Béarn, were appointed for the defence of the town and castle.

In the same month, siege was laid to Castillon*, in Perigord, by the count de Penthievre, the lord de Jalognes marshal of France, and master John Bureau treasurer of France.

At this time, St Emilion†, surrendered,—for the garrison saw resistance would be vain,—and it was placed under the guard of the count de Penthievre.

* Castillon,—near Perigueux.

† St Emilion,—near the Dordogne, six leagues from Bordeaux.

CHAP. XXVI.

THE GREATER PART OF THE TOWNS AND CASTLES IN THE DUCHY OF GUIENNE ENTER INTO TREATIES FOR THEIR SURRENDER, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF BAYONNE.—BORDEAUX SURRENDERS.

On the 2d of June, the count de Dunois sent a detachment to lay siege to a town called Fronsac*, while he remained in le Bourg to settle the future government of the country for the king's advantage. Having done this, he went in person against Fronsac, and sent a herald to summon Libourne† to surrender to the king. The inhabitants sent a deputation back with the herald to conclude a treaty with the count which being done, the care of the place was given to the count of Angoulême.

To return to the castle of Fronsac, which was the strongest in all Guienne,

* Fronsac,—on the Dordogne, six leagues from Bordeaux.

† Libourne,—a city of Guienne on the Dordogne, 10 leagues from Bordeaux.

and has been always guarded by a garrison of native Englishmen, because it has a chambre royalle*, and is the key to Guienne and the Bordelois. The English, therefore, necessarily made the greatest possible exertions in its defence, during a severe and well-conducted siege of a fortnight. The English, then, seeing the prodigious force brought against them, which was not a fourth part of the chivalry the king had in those parts, with the numerous train of battering cannon, and other artillery, and that the franc archers were then besieging four places at once, without a possibility of any one succouring the other, from the inundations of the Gironde and Dordogne, caused by the melting of the snows among the mountains, and also that the french army in Guienne was much superior to any the king of England could then bring against it: having considered all these things, the garrison in Fronsac demanded a parley with the count de Dunois, and concluded a treaty on the

* Chambre royalle,—Cotgrave says, is a court for the examination and inquiry into the conduct of financiers and exchequer-men.

terms that if they were not reinforced, so as to be able to offer battle to the French on or before the eve of St John Baptist's day, they would surrender the place. In like manner were the barons of the country, and even the town, bounden to surrender; for the French depended on being powerful enough to reduce all the places in the duchy of Guienne, held by king Henry, to the obedience of the king of France,—and, for greater security, hostages were demanded and given.

The counts de Penthievre, de Nevers, de Castres, de Clermont, de Vendôme, grandly accompanied with many knights and esquires, came toward Fronsac about St John's day, to be present at the battle, —and the whole made a most magnificent appearance. There were made knights the count de Vendôme, the viscount de Turenné, the lord de la Rochefoucault, the son to the lord de Commercy, sir John de Rochedrouard, the lord de Grimaux, sir Pierre des Barres, sir Pierre de Montingrin, sir Ferry de Gransy, sir John de Bordeilles, the lord de Fontenelles, the bastard de Vendôme, sir John de la Haye, sir

Tristan l'Hermite, sir John de l'Estrange, sir Pierre de Louvain, and others, to the amount of forty knights.

On the morrow, which was the eve of St John's day, the English, receiving no succour, delivered Fronsac into the hands of the count de Dunois, who appointed Joachim Rohault to the government of it. The lieutenant-general then sent a herald with letters to the count d'Armagnac, who was besieging Rions*, and a duplicate of the treaty of Bordeaux; in consequence of which Rions surrendered, and was given to the guard of the lord d'Albreth. The herald then continued his road to the count de Foix, with another copy of this treaty, and letters, — and the city of Dax submitted to the obedience of the king of France.

When the commissioners from the count de Dunois had settled every thing for the surrender of Bordeaux, they returned to him, the chancellor, and other members of the king's council, with the articles of the capitulation mutually signed

* Rions,—a town in Guienne, three leagues from Bordeaux.

and sealed by each party. These lords and their companions were much rejoiced at this event,—and the surrender was delayed for eight days after the time fixed, for troops to arrive from England. Nevertheless those in Bordeaux, contrary to their engagements, in the full hope of succours arriving, demanded that a day should be appointed for the combat, which was granted by the count; and the 22d of June was fixed on for the battle, should succours arrive, otherwise they were to deliver up the town on that day.

The French, in expectation of a combat, or a surrender of the town, were drawn up in battle-array before it until sun-set; when the men of Bordeaux, seeing no appearance of succour, ordered a herald to cry aloud for assistance from England for Bordeaux. No one making any answer, nor any reinforcements appearing, each party retired to their quarters, without more being then done.

The next morning, the chancellor and treasurer of France, with some others, came before the gates,—when it was agreed, that on the following Wednesday, the townsmen

were to be prepared to deliver up the keys of all the towers, havens, gates and barriers of the said town, and to take the oaths of allegiance to the king of France, and become henceforward his loyal subjects, according to the promises they had made. The treasurer, John Bureau, in reward for the great diligence he had shown in the recovery of the duchy of Guienne, was made mayor of Bordeaux. For similar causes was Joachim Rohault made constable of the place, and he directly took the oaths at the hand of the chancellor; and the mayor did the same in the hands of the chancellor and constable on the following Wednesday, the day fixed on for the delivery of the town.

The inhabitants of Bordeaux and the neighbouring barons made great preparations for the honourable reception of the count de Dunois and his company. By orders from the lieutenant-general, sir Thibaut de Valpergue bailiff of Lyon, and John Bureau, the new mayor, first entered the city, to take possession of it in the king's name,—and all the different keys of the strong holds were presented to them. The

franc archers were not permitted to join in this entry, as it was said, by desire of the inhabitants, but sent to quarter themselves in and about Libourne.

The entry commenced at sunrise by the gate, where were stationed the lords de l'Esparre, de Montferrant, and some nobles of the town and country. All the churchmen, as well monks as others, dressed in their copes and robes, came out to meet the lieutenant-general, and gave him a most honourable welcome. The archers of the van guard commenced the march, estimated at a thousand or twelve hundred men, under the command of Joachim Rohault, constable of Bordeaux, and the lord de Pavansac, seneschal of Toulouse. Then came the men at arms of the van on foot, estimated at three hundred, under their proper commanders, the marshals of Lohéac and de Jalognes, superbly mounted: then the counts de Nevers and d'Armagnac, and the viscount de Lautrec, brother to the count de Foix, with three hundred men on foot also. These were followed by the archers of the lord de la Bessiere, lieutenant to the count du Maine, in number, three or

four hundred: then a whole battalion of archers, estimated at three thousand, under the command of the lords de la Bessiere and de la Rochefoucault: then three of the lords of the king's great council, namely, the bishop of Aleth*, master Guy Bernard, archdeacon of Tours, and the bishop duke of Langres†,—the chancellor de la Marche, and others the king's secretaries, who were followed by sir Tristan de l'Hermite, provost to the marshals, on horseback, with all his sergeants.

Four trumpeters of the king, with heralds and pursuivants dressed in the royal tabards, and in the coats of arms of the lords present, next entered the town, followed by a white hackney, covered with housings of crimson velvet, and on his crupper a cloth of azure velvet, with flowers de luce embroidered thereon: a small coffer, covered with azure velvet, with flowers de luce of solid silver in raised work was placed on the saddle, containing the

* Aleth,—a small city in upper Languedoc.

† Langres,—a large city of Champagne, and one of the six ecclesiastical peerages of France.

great seal of the king. This hackney was led by a valet on foot, having two archers on each side in the king's livery. The chancellor followed on horseback, armed in a corslet of steel, over which was a jacket of crimson velvet.

The lord de Saintrailles, bailiff of Berry and master of the horse to the king, came next, mounted on a large war-horse covered with silk trappings. He was in full armour, and held one of the royal banners: the other was displayed on his left hand by the lord de Montagu, mounted also on a richly-dressed war-horse. They rode immediately before the lieutenant general, who was mounted on a white courser with trappings of blue velvet, loaded with raised work of solid gold. He was alone, and in full armour, but followed by the counts of Angoulême and Clermont in armour, and their horses and pages most richly dressed. Then came the counts de Vendôme and de Castres, with numbers of other barons and great lords, splendidly equipped. After them came the battalion of the men at arms, amounting to fifteen hundred lances, under the orders of sir James de

Chabannes, grand master of the household, in complete armour, and his horse covered with rich housings.

Then entered the men at arms of the count du Maine,—in number, one hundred and fifty spears,—under the command of Geoffry de St Belin, bailiff of Claumont in Bassigny. The March was closed by the rear guard, consisting of the men of Joachim Rohault and the men at arms of the lord de Saintrailles.

The whole advanced unto the cathedral, where the lieutenant-general, the counts of Angoulême, of Vendôme, of Armagnac, of Castres, the chancellor, and several others, dismounted. The archbishop of Bordeaux met them at the gate of the church, clad in his pontificial robes, and attended by the canons of the cathedral. The archbishop, having sanctified the count with incense, and presented him with some relics and the cross, took him by the hand, and led him through the choir to the great altar, to perform his prayers. With the lieutenant-general, two of the king's heralds entered the church, dressed in tabards of the royal arms. All the no-

bles then followed,—and they left the king's banners in the church.

When the count and the other lords had ended their devotions, the archbishop took a missal, and made them swear, that the king would faithfully preserve and maintain them in their ancient rights and privileges. Having taken this oath, the count de Dunois made the archbishop swear that the count de l'Esparre, and the other lords having authority within the town, would behave always loyally and submissively to the king of France and to his government. In this oath he made all the commonalty present join, which they did, by extending their hands toward heaven, as is usual in such cases.

From this oath the captal of Buch was excepted, as he was then a knight-companion of the Garter, the order of the king of England.

When the lieutenant-general had devoutly heard mass, which was celebrated by the archbishop, and the 'Veni Creator,' &c. and 'Te Deum laudamus,' &c. that preceded it, to the ringing of all the bells at the different churches, he retired to his

lodgings (as did the other lords to theirs) to partake of some refreshments, excepting the chancellor of France, the grand master of the houshold, and the chancellor de la Marche, who remained, to administer the oath to sir Olivier de Coictivy, seneschal of Guienne. The seneschal made a grand appearance, as he was attended by many of the king's officers, the barons and knights of Guienne, and the burghers of Bordeaux. He presented his commission to the chancellor of France, who, after reading it, made him swear that he would strictly administer justice, without partiality to poor or rich, as well in the said city of Bordeaux as throughout the whole duchy of Guienne. When this was done, the chancellor commanded all persons to obey the seneschal, in all things respecting his office, as they would the king in person.

When the lieutenant-general had regarrisoned Fronsac, he had the king's banner displayed on the castle,—and another was placed on the highest towers of the said town. He then issued a proclamation in the king's name, and in his own, to forbid any persons from taking the smallest

article from the inhabitants without paying its full value, prior to the quartering of his troops, which was then done by persons appointed for that purpose. Scarcely was the dinner hour passed, when great murmurings were heard in the city against one of the king's troopers who had transgressed the proclamation. He was soon arrested and brought before a court of law to be examined; and when the lieutenant-general heard of it, and that he had confessed himself guilty, he ordered him instantly to be hanged. This act of justice gave great pleasure to the inhabitants of Bordeaux and the country round.

The count de Dunois had also a new gallows erected, to hang thereon five troopers, who, instigated by William de Flavy, had wounded sir Pierre de Louvain while on the king's service. They had watched him several days with the intent to murder him, in consequence of a quarrel that had taken place between the said Louvain and Flavy. Thus did the lieutenant-general deal strict justice to all,—and the execution of these malefactors was a good example, of great comfort to the burghers;

for during the time they were under the English, they were kept so much in awe that they only received blows when they complained against any of them.

The count de Dunois remained in Bordeaux fifteen days, to regulate its future government; and those whom he appointed for the purpose acted with such prudence and moderation that not the smallest extortion or mischief was done to the city. Thus was the whole duchy of Guienne subdued, with the exception of the city of Bayonne. During this conquest, the count and all his officers, military and civil, showed the utmost activity and courage.

The count de Clermont was made governor of Bordeaux, and sir Olivier de Coictivy, his lieutenant, who commanded the men at arms of his brother, Pregent de Coictivy, then admiral of France.

On the reduction of Bordeaux, the counts de Nevers, de Clermont, and de Castres were ordered to wait on the king at the castle of Taillebourg, and then to march to the cantonments that had been assigned them. The counts d'Armagnac,

d'Angoulême, and de Penthievre were to return with their men to their own countries. The franc archers were also ordered home,—so that of the whole of this army, estimated at twenty thousand combatants, which had conquered Guienne, there only remained a small part in the duchy for the king's service.

CHAP. XXVII.

THE CITY OF BAYONNE IS BESIEGED BY THE COUNTS DE FOIX AND DE DUNOIS, LIEUTENANTS-GENERAL TO THE KING.—IT SURRENDERS.—THE REGULATIONS MADE IN CONSEQUENCE.—POPE NICHOLAS MARRIES THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY TO THE DAUGHTER OF THE KING OF PORTUGAL.—THE EVENTS THAT TAKE PLACE IN ENGLAND.

At this period, the king determined in council to lay siege to Bayonne, which was still held by the English, and for this purpose issued his orders from the castle of

Taillebourg* to his lieutenants-general, the counts de Foix and de Dunois, to march thither with a large body of lances, archers and guisarmes. Of these, four hundred lances were supplied by the king, and four hundred were attached to the count de Foix and his vassals: it was a fine sight to see their handsome equipment in horses, armour, and splendid helmets. The count had also with him two thousand cross-bows and targeteers from his own country.

When the count de Foix had commenced the siege, he created several knights; such as the son to the master of the king's houshold, the lord de Tessac, brother to the lord de Noailles, Bertrand de l'Espagne, seneschal of Foix, Roger de l'Espagne, the lord de Benac, and others, to the number of fifteen. About the middle of this day, the count de Dunois and de Longueville arrived, and posted his men on the side toward Bearn, between the rivers Adour and Nive, which are so wide that the two divisions could not succour

* Taillebourg,—a town of Saintonge, on the Charante, three leagues from Saintes.

each other. The count de Dunois had under him six hundred lances, archers, and guisarmes, who commenced the siege gallantly.

On the morrow, which was the 6th day of the month, the garrison of Bayonne destroyed the suburbs of St. Léon, on the side opposite to the count de Foix, which were very strongly fortified with ditches and mounds of earth; but the continued fire from the batteries of French made them abandon them,—not, however, before they had set fire to the houses and churches, especially when they saw that the besiegers were advancing to attack them. The French gained this suburb, and pursued them so closely that had there been one hundred men with scaling ladders, the town would have been won, as they would have entered the gates with the enemy; but the ditches were deep, and they could not mount the walls from want of ladders.

The besiegers took possession of this suburb, having extinguished the fires. The count de Foix fixed his quarters in the convent of the Augustins, for it had been little burnt. Six days afterward, the count d'Al-

breth and the viscount de Tartas, his son, came from Bordeaux, and quartered themselves at St Esprit*, at the end of the wooden bridge, which was broken down the following night by the men of the lord d'Albreth, who had in his company two hundred lances, and three thousand archers and cross-bows. The next day the besieged made a sally by a bulwark on the sea-side, intending to fall on the enemy unawares. At this same moment, sir Bernard de Béarn led his men to skirmish almost within the town; but when returning he was struck by a ball from a culverin, which pierced his shield, and entered his leg between the two bones: it was extracted, and, by the care of the surgeons, he was soon out of danger.

The next morning, a church was won that was strongly fortified with ditches and palisadoes, by this same sir Bernard. When those within found they could not hold out, they retreated to the town, with the loss of five or six in killed and wounded: a garri-

* St Esprit.—a town on the Nive, opposite to Bayonne, to which it is considered as a suburb.

son was posted in this church,—and the town was blockaded on all sides.

The count de Dunois pushed forward his approaches with vigour, to bring his batteries to bear on the walls, without waiting for the heavy artillery: had he waited for its arrival, the place must have been won by storm, considering the numbers and eagerness of the besieging army. The garrison, understanding that the battering train was near at hand, proposed a parley which took effect on the 26th day of August. The counts de Foix and de Dunois, with some of the king's counsellors, met the deputation from the city; and after several adjournments, the following articles were agreed to,—namely, that the governor, don John de Beaumont, brother to the constable of Navarre, of the order of St John of Jerusalem, should be delivered up to the king, and remain his prisoner, together with all the men at arms, so long as it might please him, and that the inhabitants should submit themselves to the king's will; and for their disobedience in not complying with his former summons, they should pay forty thousand golden

crowns. The same day, they gave up their governor, who, in the presence of all the commissioners and many of the inhabitants, took the oaths of allegiance in the hands of the grand master of the king's household.

Thus was a treaty concluded with the city of Bayonne. While the siege lasted, the king's army was amply supplied with all sorts of provision from Biscay, for the king had written to the inhabitants for this purpose. Some provisions came from Béarn and Navarre,—but it was with difficulty, from the numbers of robbers that infested those parts. The army, however, was never in any want for man or horse. The Biscayners equipped a fleet of twelve vessels, called pinnaces, and a large ship manned with six hundred combatants, which they stationed half a league from Bayonne, to cut off the escape of the garrison by sea.

On Friday the 20th day of August* (a little before sunrise, the sky bright and clear), a white cross was seen in the hea-

* Twentieth day of August. There seems a confusion of dates here.

vens by the king's army, and even by the English in Bayonne, for half an hour. Those in the town, who were desirous of returning to the French, took the red crosses from their banners and pennons, saying, that since it pleased God they should become Frenchmen, they would all wear white crosses. This cross in the heavens was seen on a Friday, the day our Lord and Saviour was crucified. On the same day, at ten o'clock, the lord de la Bessiere entered the town, accompanied by the bishop, to take possession of the town and castle. The king's banners were hoisted on the citadel by his heralds, to the great joy of the people; and the fleet of Biscayners at the same time entered the harbour of Bayonne, which was a fine spectacle.

On Saturday, the 21st of August, the lieutenants-general made their public entry into Bayonne accompanied by the grand master of the houshold, the count de Lautrec, brother to the count de Foix, the lord de Noailles, the lord de la Bessiere, and others, in the following procession: first, a thousand archers, who had manned the pinnaces from Biscay; then two heralds,

followed by others bearing their coats of arms; sir Bertrand de l'Espagne, seneschal of Foix, in full armour, bearing the king's banner, mounted on a horse covered with crimson-velvet housings. The count de Foix came next, completely armed, and mounted on a horse very richly caparisoned: he had near him his seneschal of Béarn, as splendidly dressed and mounted: the head-piece of his horse was steel, ornamented with gold and precious stones, estimated at fifteen thousand crowns. A number of attendants followed,—and then six hundred lances on foot closed the march.

The count de Dunois entered from another quarter, preceded by twelve hundred archers,—then two of the king's heralds, and others, bearing different banners of arms. After them came sir Jeannet de Saveuses, mounted on a courser bearing one of the king's banners. At this entry, the count de Dunois created the said Jeannet a knight, together with the lord de Mont-Guyon, Jean de Montmorin, and the lord de Boussey. After the royal banner came the count de Dunois in complete armour, and his horse covered with crimson

velvet; then the lord de Lohéac marshal of France, the lord d'Orval, and many more great lords: the whole procession closed by six hundred lances.

Both parties met at the great portal of the church, where the bishop and his clergy, dressed in their pontificals and copes, were waiting to receive them. The lords dismounted; and having kissed the holy relics, which the clergy had brought for that purpose, they offered up their prayers at the great altar, and thence returned to their lodgings. The count de Foix sent the trappings of his horse, which were of golden tissue, and valued at four hundred golden crowns, to the church of our Lady in Bayonne, to make copes of for the priests.

On the morrow, which was Sunday, these lords, accompanied by the lord d'Albreth, who had entered the town on Saturday evening, heard mass in the same church, and afterwards received the oaths of the inhabitants. Sir John le Boursier, general of France, was appointed the mayor, and sir Martin Gracien captain, who remained in Bayonne for its government and

defence. On the ensuing day, the troops were dismissed to the countries assigned them for cantonments; and the barons, knights, and principal burghers of the three estates, as well from Bordeaux, the Bordelois, Bayonne, Bazadois, and the countries round, went to the king at Taillebourg, to receive the ratification of the articles of the treaties that had been agreed on by his commissioners, and to do homage to the king for their lordships.

The king, at the request of those from Bayonne, remitted one half of their fine of forty thousand crowns, on which they returned very well pleased with the king and his ministers. The king was attended at Taillebourg by the counts of Maine, of Nevers, of Clermont, of Vendôme, of Castres, of Tancarville, and very many other lords. Thither came also the counts of Foix and of Dunois, the lord d'Albreth, the lord of Lohéac, and other barons, who shortly after returned to their winter-quarters, and the king went to pass his winter in Touraine.

Thus, by the grace of God, was the whole of Guienne and Normandy reduced

to the obedience of the king of France, and all the possessions the English had in that realm, excepting the town of Calais, which still remains in their hands; but God grant that it may soon share a similar fate, and then will the saying be accomplished, 'Melior est obedientia quam sacrificium.'

In this same year, the emperor Frederick, duke of Austria, was crowned, and married at Rome, by pope Nicholas, to the daughter of the king of Portugal,—and the feasts and entertainments were suitable to the rank of the parties. Shortly after, the emperor returned to Germany with his empress, where they were most honourably received, according to the customs of that country.

In this year also, there were great discords in England between the dukes of York and Somerset, for the government of the kingdom. The king supported the latter, who raised a large army, and took the field in handsome array. The duke of York did the same, and a general engagement was expected; but the prelates and great lords, dreading the consequences, interfered and brought about an accommo-

dation,—when the duke of York promised never to arm again or collect forces in opposition to his king.*—and each army separated to the places they had come from.

In this same year, the cardinal de Touteville was sent by pope Nicholas to the king of France, as his legate, and to require that he would make peace with England,—for the continuation of the war was of great prejudice to the catholic faith. The legate pressed as speedy a conclusion as possible between the two kingdoms, for the infidels were daily making conquests from the Christians.

When the cardinal had explained the object of his mission, the king replied, that he was as desirous as ever to prevent further effusion of blood, and to promote the general welfare of Christendom: that he was ready to listen to any reasonable proposals, and had frequently made offers to that effect in vain: that he was willing to agree to any proper terms, and to employ

* Monstrelet, or his continuator, seems to have been miserably informed respecting these quarrels in England.

his arms and finances, as much as should be in his power, to repulse the Saracens.

While the legate was employed on this business in France, the pope, having the matter much at heart, sent the archbishop of Ravenna, of the Ursini-family at Rome, to England, to make similar remonstrances with king Henry, and to press him earnestly to conclude a peace with France, for the reasons stated by the legate,—and that a further prolongation of the war would probably entail contempt on Christendom, as the infidels had already made great conquests in Hungary and Germany. The king's ministers made answer to the archbishop, that when they should have reconquered from the king of France what he had won from them, it would be time enough to talk of these matters. This answer was a bad precedent; and the cardinal and archbishop returned to pope Nicholas without having done any thing, in regard to the mission he had sent them on.

According to the chronicles of Arras, the inhabitants of Ghent, at this season, finding their lord was indignant against

them for the opposition which their deputies had made to his laying a tax on salt, began to murmur,—and, puffed up with pride, they rose in rebellion against his authority, and seized many of the duke's officers, whom they beheaded without mercy. They chose from among themselves three leaders, called in their language Hoguemens, whom they appointed to the government. The principal was called Lieuvin Seve, a poor mason, and the other two were of low degree.

When news of this was brought to the duke, he instantly issued his summons, throughout Picardy and Hainault, for the assembling a body of men at arms; and sent a valiant knight, a gentleman born in Hainault, called sir Simon de Lalain, as governor of Oudenarde, and with him another knight, named the lord des Cornets. In the holy week of this same year, three of the states of Flanders, namely, Brussels, Ypres, and the Franc, sent a deputation to the duke of Burgundy at Brussels, accompanied by a Carthusian of the convent at Ghent. They were admitted to an audience on Good Friday, and by the

mouth of the Carthusian, entreated him, on their knees, and with the utmost humility, to pardon the people of Ghent for their ill conduct,—and to have pity on his country of Flanders for the love of God, and in respect to the sacred day on which they made their petition. They offered, on the part of the men of Ghent, that if he would pardon them, they would make whatever reparation his ministers should think expedient.

The good prince replied, that from his reverence to God and respect to the day, he would grant their request, provided the men of Ghent would abide by the decision of his ministers as to the reparation they were to make for their bad conduct.

It happened, in the mean time, that some of the peasantry and farmers had placed their effects in the town of Oudenarde, as a security against the war which they thought was about to commence; and they assembled, in number about twelve hundred, and came to the gates of Oudenarde, to demand back their effects; but when sir Simon de Lalain was informed

of their numbers, he refused them admittance, or to restore their goods, until he should have informed their prince. The peasants, dissatisfied with this answer, went to make their complaints at Ghent, and to supplicate their assistance in the recovery of their goods from Oudenarde,—when, without considering the consequences; the Hoguemens instantly displayed their banners, and marched fifteen thousand men of all sorts out of the town.

[A. D. 1452.]

CHAP. XXVIII.

JACQUES COEUR IS ARRESTED AND CONFINED.—THE REASONS OF IT.—THE KING OF FRANCE DECLARES WAR AGAINST THE DUKE OF SAVOY,—BUT PEACE IS MADE, BY THE MEDIATION OF THE CARDINAL DE TOUTEVILLE. — LORD SHREWSBURY REGAINS BORDEAUX FROM THE FRENCH.

In the year 1452, Jacques Coeur was arrested by the king's orders, and confined close prisoner. He was charged with various acts contrary to the catholic faith, with high treason, and with having sent armour and all sorts of military stores to the Saracens, enemies to the Christian faith,—and likewise with providing them with workmen to teach them the art of fabricating arms, to the prejudice of all Christendom. He was confined for having, by the instigations of the enemy of mankind, through avarice or other irregular passions, sent back by force

a Christian prisoner who had escaped from the hands of the Saracens, (with whom he had long suffered martyrdom for the love of JESUS CHRIST), in contempt of the faith of our Redeemer. He was likewise charged with very many extortions in different parts of the realm, and of having pillaged immense sums from the king's finances, of which he had the management. The said extortions had caused several of the inhabitants of those parts to quit the country, to the great loss of the king and the realm.

The damsel de Mortaigne was at the same time imprisoned for certain offences against the king, and for having charged Jacques Coeur and others, through malice, with crimes of which they were innocent. She was therefore confined for thus lying, to receive the punishment that those whom she had accused would have suffered, had they been found guilty, unless pardoned by the king's mercy.

In the month of May of this year, the king of France left Tours, and went to the castle of Tuché*, to celebrate the

* Tuché, MS. DU CANGE, Chiré.

feast of Whitsunside, where he staid until July following, and thence went to Mehun sur Yevre*. He there declared war against the duke of Savoy, for certain acts done by him to the prejudice of his crown and kingdom. In the month of August, the king departed from Mehun with a large army, and a noble company of knights and men at arms, until he came to the country of Forez†, intending to invade Savoy; but the cardinal de Touteville, hearing of this on his road to Rome, moved by charity, returned to the duke of Savoy, — and, having learnt the cause of offence, he thence went to the king, and managed the matter so well that the duke waited on the king, and promised to make every amends for what had given offence, according to the king's good pleasure. Peace being restored, the french army retreated to

* Mehun sur Yevre,—two leagues from Beaugency, four from Orleans.

† Forez,—a small fertile province, bounded on the east by the Lyonnois, on the south by Languedoc.

Feurs* in Forex, and the cardinal continued his road to Rome†.

In the beginning of September, the lord de l'Esparre and others of the inhabitants of Bordeaux, by the advice of the lord de Montferrant, the lord de Rosem, the lord de Lane, and the lord d'Anglades, found means to embark secretly for England. On their arrival, they had several conferences with king Henry's ministers, and offered to return to their obedience if they would send a sufficient force to support them. The king assembled his parliament, and summoned to it his peers and captains, when it was determined to send the earl of Shrewsbury to the country of Bordelois in the ensuing month of October. On this being settled, the lord de l'Esparre and his companions, who might be compared to Judas, returned to Bordeaux; for they had sworn, on the holy

* Feurs,—a town in Forez, four leagues from Boen, 16 from Lyon.

† Charles VII. was discontented with the duke of Savoy for having married his daughter Charlotte to the dauphin without his consent, but on his submissions was appeased.

evangelists, to be true and loyal subjects to the king and crown of France, and had conspired this wicked treason in direct violation of their oaths.

In consequence of the arrangements made between them and the English, the earl of Shrewsbury set sail from England with four or five thousand men, whom he landed in Medoc, and conquered some small places to serve them as quarters. He thence made inroads over that part of the country, and subdued it,—which was not dificult, for the king's army was withdrawn, and few remained in the garrisons. When their arrival was known in Bordeaux, the townsmen held several meetings to consider of the manner of their surrender to the English,—and the majority were desirous that the French within the town should be allowed to depart in safety with their effects. At this time, the lord de Coictivy, seneschal of Guienne, was the governor for the king of France, the lord du Pin mayor, and Jean du Foue, knight, his deputy.

While they were debating on this matter, some of the inhabitants opened one of

the gates to the English, who entered the town on the 23d of October, and made the greater part of the French, soldiers or not, prisoners. This news grieved much the king of France; and he hastily dispatched the marshals of France, the lord d'Orval, Joachim Rohault, and other experienced captains, with six hundred lances and archers, to guard the places round Bordeaux, as the lord de Clermont, his lieutenant-general in those parts, should see expedient, until he could, at a proper season, send a greater force.

However, before this army could arrive, the earl of Shrewsbury and the barons of the Bordelois had subjected most of the places near Bordeaux to the government of the English. The town and castle of Châtillon, in Perigord, then occupied by the French, were surrendered by the garrison, on having their lives and fortunes spared, notwithstanding the count de Clermont did all in his power to resist the English before his reinforcement arrived.

The lord Camus, the bastard of Somerset, the lord Lisle, son to the earl of Shrewsbury, the lord Molins, now arrived

from England, to reinforce the earl of Shrewsbury with four thousand combatants, and eighty transports, great and small, laden with flour and bacon to victual the city of Bordeaux.

CHAP. XXIX.

THE MEN OF GHENT BESIEGE OUDENARDE.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY SENDS AN ARMY AGAINST THEM.—THE PICARDS CONQUER THE PONT D'ESPIERES FROM THE GHENT MEN, AND KILL MANY OF THEM.

On the 14th day of April, after Easter, the ghent men took the field in great numbers, followed by a large train of artillery and provision-carts, to lay siege to Oudenarde, which was but five leagues from Ghent. On their appearance, sir Simon de Lalain issued out, and a skirmish took place; but he was forced to return to the town by reason of the very great numbers of ghent men, who attacked him on all sides,—and in his retreat, he burnt the suburbs on that

quarter. The ghent army blockaded the place so closely that nothing could enter it by land, or by the river Scheld that ran through it.

The noble duke of Burgundy, when told of this siege, was greatly vexed, considering that the ghent men had so lately sent to solicit pardon for their offences. He consequently issued a special summons throughout Picardy and Hainault,—and in obedience thereto, John count d'Estampes, his cousin-german and at that time governor of Picardy, assembled the gentlemen of that country, and with a numerous body, marched toward Oudenarde by the road of the Pont d'Espieres. Near to this bridge was a small castle, called Helchin, occupied by the ghent men under a captain, a peasant called Beuterman, which means one who sells butter. They having fortified the bridge, the Picards declined attempting to pass it, on account of the numbers of the enemy; but a company of Picards found means to cross the river at a place named Waterbos, and fell on the rear of those who guarded the bridge, at the same time that the other body of Picards made an attack

on the bridge. The ghent men, finding themselves attacked in front and rear, retreated into a church hard by. The Picards crossed the bridge, and pursued them to the church,---when the ghent men, in their defence, killed three archers, and wounded several more. This so enraged the count d'Estampes that he set fire to the church, and forced the ghent men to sally forth,—but they were all put to death: none escaped save their captain, Beuterman, who had fled, by another road, to Ghent. Ninety remained dead on the spot for three days before they were buried!

While this was passing, the duke of Burgundy advanced toward Ghent, and fixed his quarters at Grammont, a small town five leagues distant. He was there joined by the count de St Pol, his two brothers Thibaut and James, Adolphus of Cleves, nephew to the duke Cornille, the bastard of Burgundy and sir John de Croy, all grandly attended, and with a very numerous body of men at arms and archers.

CHAP. XXX.

THE COUNT D'ESTAMPES, WITH THE AID OF THE PICARDS ALONE, RAISES THE SIEGE OF OUDENARDE, AND DEFEATS THE GHENT MEN, WITHOUT THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

THE count d'Estampes accompanied by the lords of Picardy and their vassals, halted at Waterbos and Launoy after their conquest of the Pont d'Espieres, and there resolved to attempt to raise the siege of Oudenarde before the duke of Burgundy should know any thing of the matter.

To accomplish their plan, it was necessary that the governor, sir Simon de Lalain, should be informed of it; and on the 25th day of April, three of their men offered to carry thither letters, on paying them fifty crowns each. These letters were to inform him of the hour on which they intended to make the attempt, that he might co-operate with them. The messengers, on approaching Oudenarde, found it so closely blockaded that they had no chance of gain-

ing admittance on the land side; they therefore stripped themselves naked and plunged into the Scheld, which is there wide and deep, swam into the town, and delivered their letters.

Sir Simon was much pleased with the intelligence. In the mean time, the count advanced with his Picards in three battalions: the van under the command of Anthony bastard of Burgundy, the lord de Saveuses, and others: the center under the count himself, grandly accompanied,—and in the rear division were very many valiant men at arms and archers. When they were nearly approached to the enemy, the lord de Saveuses knighted, with his own hand, the lord d'Estampes, who had not before received that honour; and then the count instantly made fifty-two more knights, the first of whom was Anthony bastard of Burgundy.

When arrived within a quarter of a league from Oudenarde, they fell in with a body of four or five hundred ghent men, posted there to defend a narrow pass. The Picards advanced to attack them, but came to a hollow way, of difficult descent, which

forced them to make a circuit. Their leaders were sir James de Lalain, the lords de Bauf-segnies, de Crevecœur, de Bosqueaux, and du Bos,—and one called le Bourgognon was with them. Having passed the hollow way, they pushed through the ghent men, who were drawn up; and wheeling round, sir James de Lalain charged them sword in hand. He was instantly surrounded by the enemy,—and had it not been for the timely succour of the Bourgognon, who extricated him from this danger, he must have been killed.

When the ghent men perceived that the main body of the Picards had passed the hollow way, they fled for a church near Oudenarde, where they were almost all put to death. This done, the count d'Estampes ordered the archers to dismount,—but the blockade was so complete that no sally was attempted from the town. However, the ghent men on the other side of the Scheld were cut off, for want of a bridge, from succouring the division on this side, which, as it afterward turned out, proved their destruction.

The ghent men, on seeing the Picards,

advanced from their intrenchments in handsome array, well furnished with pikes and cannons, to give them battle; but they no sooner felt the arrows of the Picards, which, by reason of their being badly armed, pierced their bellies and backs, than they instantly gave way and fled. The Picards pursued them, and slaughtered so many that few escaped. It was commonly reported that upwards of three thousand were killed, while the count d'Estampes lost only one man, called Jean d'Athies, a man at arms, and a native of Arras, who was slain through his own breach of duty.

During this time, the noble duke of Burgundy had left Grammont grandly accompanied, as I have said, to raise the siege of Oudenarde. He had learnt that the ghent men had, on the opposite side of the river, been forced to raise the siege, and that the division on this, through fear, were on their march back to Ghent. In consequence of this intelligence, he pushed forward, and soon overtook them,—and the pursuit lasted to the gates of Ghent, killing and wounding all that came in his way, until the night forced him to give it over.

The duke lay on the field this night, and on the morrow, early, entered Oudenarde, where great rejoicings and feasts took place between the duke, the count, and their companions. The artillery the men of Ghent had left behind them was secured in the town of Oudenarde, and their baggage plundered. Among those who escaped to Ghent were their three Hoguemans*,—but they had scarcely entered the town when the populace seized them, beheaded them without mercy, and elected five new ones.

* Hogueman—should be, according to du Cange's glossary, Hocquemant, Hoga, captain, governor.

CHAP. XXXI.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY ESTABLISHES GARRISONS ROUND GHENT.—HE MAKES SEVERAL INROADS INTO THE COUNTRY OF WAES*.

THE siege of Oudenarde being raised, the duke of Burgundy, nobly attended, went to Dendermonde,—the count d'Estampes remained in Oudenarde,—the count de St Pol was sent to Alost, and the marshal of Burgundy, with some picardy gentlemen, to Courtray. Shortly after, the count d'Estampes sallied out of Oudenarde, with the intent of advancing to Ghent; and passing by the castle of Gave, he attacked it, but was forced to retire, as it was too strong, and the garrison outnumbered his force. He then continued his march toward Ghent, where a sharp skirmish took effect, but without much loss on either side —the ghent men re-entered the town—

* Waes,—a district in Flanders, on the Scheld, between Ghent and Ysendic.

except, indeed, that sir John de Miraumont was struck so severely with a cross-bow bolt that he died of it soon after: the Picards marched back to Oudenarde.

The count de St Pol, on another day, advanced from Alost to before the walls of Ghent, and gallantly repulsed those who sallied out against him; and this he did repeatedly. The count d'Estampes returned thither also, and not only repulsed them back into Ghent but slew upwards of forty: he lost, however, seven of his archers.

Between Ghent and Antwerp lies a fertile country, called the country of Waes: it is very strong from its bogs and ditches, and has several rich towns and villages dependant on Ghent, and would not own any other superior lord than the municipality of Ghent. During the different wars that had taken place, this country had never been overrun or pillaged, and therefore was plentifully supplied with all things. The Ghent men had likewise strongly fortified it with ditches and bulwarks, so that it was of difficult entrance, more especially as those

of Ghent were very assiduous in guarding it.

The duke, being anxious to possess this country, had a strong bridge thrown over the Scheld, before Dendermonde; and when it was finished, a valiant knight called sir James de Lalain, with leave of the duke, was the first who passed over, accompanied by the archers of the duke's body-guard and a few men at arms. This was on the 18th day of May; and he had not advanced far when he was met by a large body of ghent men, who instantly attacked and surrounded him on all sides. He behaved himself most valorously: no knight could have done better: but sir John bastard of Renty, captain of these archers, did not do the same,—for he let fall the duke's banner which he bore, and saved himself as fast as his horse could carry him. In this encounter, seven or eight archers were slain, three of whom were of the duke's guard. The horse of a gallant young knight, sir Philip de Lalain, was killed under him in a bog, while he defended himself like a wild boar at bay: had it not been for the exertions of

his brother sir James, who dashed into the midst of those that held him in such peril, he could not have escaped alive; but sir James, by his valour, remounted his brother in spite of them, and having collected around him the few men he had, he marched off, himself closing their rear, to withstand all attempts of the enemy to hurt them. The archers who had remained with him, throwing off their jackets, made such excellent use of their bows that they forced the ghent men to retreat to a respectable distance;—and sir James carried his men and archers safely back to Dendermonde.

In another quarter, the count de St Pol, accompanied by his two brothers, Adolphus of Cleves, the bastard de Cornille, and many men at arms and archers, with those from Dendermonde, under the command of John de Croy, set off to enter the country of Waes. They gained two bulwarks which the ghent men occupied at Overmeer, a large village in that country, after a sharp attack, when the ghent men fled, as many as could save themselves, to Ghent. The duke's army then advanced to Lokeren, another large

village, in which were three thousand men, who had promised assistance to those at Overmeer, and were preparing to march thither when it was too late.

The ghent men, seeing their enemies coming, advanced boldly to meet them; but before they were approached near enough for battle, the count de St Pol, who led the van, made some new knights, namely, Adolphus of Cleves, Thibault lord de Fiennes, brother to the count, Cornille bastard of Burgundy, at that time governor of Luxembourg, a prudent and valiant youth, universally beloved by all who knew him, and a few more. The count marched the van on the flank of the ghent men, while they continued to advance in front against the body under the command of sir John de Croy, who pushed forward to meet them: they were so roughly attacked on two sides that they were almost all slain or made prisoners. In this engagement, four or five of the duke's body-archers did wonders in arms, more especially Hoste le Sur and le Martre. This army now returned to their quarters.

CHAP. XXXII.

THE GHENT MEN FORTIFY NIENEVE.—THE COUNT D'ESTAMPES DEFEATS THEM THERE. —THE MEN OF GRENT ATTEMPT TO DESTROY A DYKE, TO DROWN THE COUNTRY OF WAES, BUT ARE AGAIN DEFEATED BY THE COUNT DE ST POL.

BETWEEN Ghent and Oudenarde is a large village called Nieneve, which the ghent men had strongly fortified with intrenchments and bulwarks, and had posted there a numerous garrison to harrass the Picards in Oudenarde. The count d'Estampes, having summoned the garrison of Courtray to join him, advanced to gain this village, and on the 25th of May he won by storm the outworks and the village, putting the ghent men to the rout without much difficulty. The count then took the field, and, while a party of his men were pursuing the runaways, others had dismounted in the village to refresh themselves. They had not been there long, before a large body of ghent men, who had assembled unobserved,

suddenly entered the village, and immediately put do death all they could find, for they were far from suspecting such an attempt. Among the slain were the lord de Herin, knight, Ciboy Boucly, Jenhequin le Prevost, Jean Dinde, and some others, to the amount of thirteen, all valiant men at arms of the count's household, and full fifty archers. The whole would have perished, had not the lord de Saveuses hastened to their succour and behaved with great valour. The count instantly returned with the army, and a dreadful slaughter ensued: the men of Ghent were a second time defeated, and twelve hundred killed on the spot: the rest saved themselves in the woods and hedges. After this defeat, the count caused those of his men who had been slain to be carried to a house hard by, and then set fire to the village,—after which he returned to Oudenarde.

The duke of Burgundy, during his residence at Dendermonde, was very desirous of marching a great force to conquer the country of Waes, and had sent to Picardy for reinforcements of archers and cross-bows, which the towns had readily

complied with. He ordered the garrisons of Courtray, Oudenarde, and Alost to join him, and sent thither the reinforcements from Picardy to supply the place of these garrisons during the time he should be in the country of Waes. When the ghent men heard of this great force being assembled, they ordered a strong detachment to break down a sea dyke, which, being done, would drown the whole of that country; but the duke, having timely notice of this, sent thither the count de St Pol with a large body, who made such diligence that he came up with the enemy before they could effect their purpose, and discomfited them, with the loss of more than five hundred men: the rest saved themselves by flight: and what damage had been done to the dyke was repaired.

The count marched back to the duke, and found that the duke's nephew, John duke of Cleves, had arrived during his absence with a handsome body of german men at arms and cross-bows, at which the duke was exceedingly well pleased. Charles count de Charolois, legitimate son to the

duke, had also arrived when he was absent on the last expedition.

CHAP. XXXIII.

THE BATTLE OF RUPELMONDE, WHERE THE GHENT MEN ARE DEFEATED BY THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

On the 6th day of June, in this same year 1452, the duke of Burgundy marched from Dendermonde with his whole army, to invade the country of Waes. He formed his army into three divisions: the van he gave to the count de St Pol, who was accompanied by his two brothers, sir Cornille the bastard, the lord de Saveuses, sir James de Lalain, and others. The duke commanded the center, having with him his son, the knights and esquires of his household, and a part of the Picards: the count d'Estampes and the duke of Cleves, his son-in-law, had the command of the rear division.

This arrangement being made, he marched toward Rupelmonde, which the

ghent men had strongly fortified, and were there waiting his coming with plenty of artillery and warlike stores, to defend a bulwark they had cast up in front of the place.

When the duke was near to Rupelmonde, he was fearful that if the ghent men should discover his whole strength they would not issue out of their intrenchments; and to deceive them as to his numbers, he detached a considerable body to observe the countenance of the enemy, to skirmish with them, and to draw them out into the plain. In the mean time, he advanced his whole army in three divisions, but in close order, for greater security, so that the ghent men could not see more than the first division, or at least what appeared to be such.

The ghent men observing the detachment, and the van of the army, which was not far behind, not imagining there were any more, insolently issued forth from their intrenchments to attack them; but, in pursuance of the duke's orders, his men immediately wheeled round and fled. The ghent men pursued until they fell in with

the duke's army, drawn up in battle-array, and the archers dismounted. The battle now raged, and the ghent men made good use of their culverins; but they could not withstand the arrows of the Picards, and, turning about, fled. The men at arms followed, and the slaughter was dreadful. It happened in the pursuit, that sir Cornille, the bastard, was attacked by a Fleming, who thrust his pike into his throat, which unluckily was unguarded, and killed him on the spot: it was a great loss, from the promising expectations he had given of his future worth.

The ghent men were defeated, and two thousand five hundred were left dead on the field: the rest retreated to a large village called Acre, which they had strongly fortified with trenches and ramparts. The duke, having collected his men together, began his march back, but not before he had his son, the bastard, raised from the ground, and sent off, with many honours to Brussels, where he was interred in the church of St Goule.

CHAP. XXXIV.

THE GHENT MEN WHO HAD FLED TO ACRE ABANDON THE PLACE: IT IS BURNT BY THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS AMBASSADORS TO THE DUKE IN FLANDERS, TO RESTORE PEACE TO THAT COUNTRY.

On the morrow of the battle of Rupelmonde, the lord de la Vere, a Hollander, and knight-companion of the Golden Fleece, and the lord de Launoy, then governor of Holland, came to offer their services to the duke of Burgundy, bringing with them three thousand combatants, mostly cross-bowmen. The duke was well pleased with them; but remembering the death of his son the bastard, whom he greatly lamented, he commanded all the villages in the country of Waes to be set on fire, and, in consequence, very many villages were burnt; but as several of them contained only poor people, the inhabitants came in great numbers to beseech their lord's mercy, barefooted, and in all humility. The good duke

had pity on them, and ordered the fires to cease.

The duke then marched to Acre, where the ghent men were in great force; but they were afraid to wait his coming, and abandoned the place, on which the duke had it burnt to the ground.

While these things were going forward, the king of France sent an embassy to the duke, and appointed the count de St Pol, then with the duke, as the head of it, who went to meet the other members at Tournay, where they were grandly feasted. The count returned to the duke, to know when and where it would be agreeable for him to see them: he appointed Dendermonde, whither he went for the purpose, leaving his army in the country of Waes.

The ambassadors remonstrated with the duke on his present conduct,—and added, that the king was astonished that he could thus destroy Flanders, which was a dependance on his crown, for that the ghent men out of revenge, and through pride, might ally themselves with the English, and admit them into Ghent, to the great prejudice of his kingdom. They exhorted

him to make peace with Ghent, if possible, and ordered him, in the king's name, to put an end to the war.

The duke made answer, in person, that he was no way afraid of the English being admitted into Ghent,—and that for no man living would he make peace with his rebellious subjects until they had submitted themselves to his will; for, by the aid of God and of his good friends, he would force them to submission, if they would not submit by fair means. The ambassadors, on hearing this answer, did not make any reply for the present; but they obtained from the duke, at their entreaties, and out of respect to the king, that he would consent to a truce for three days, and give passports to such of the ghent men as might choose to come to him and treat of a peace.

This being done, the ambassadors, with the exception of the count de St Pol, went to Ghent, where they were received most honourably. They informed the townsmen, assembled in numbers at the town-hall, of the commission they had been intrusted with by the king of France, and the remon-

strances they had in consequence made to the duke of Burgundy, and his answer. The ghent men, on hearing this, said, that indeed their lord was too hard and merciless to them; that he wanted to deprive them of their privileges, which they would never suffer to be done; and told the ambassadors, that if they had nothing more to say, they might leave the town instantly. They therefore immediately departed, and returned to the duke of Burgundy.

CHAP. XXXV.

THE CUTLER OF GHENT IS MADE PRISONER IN BATTLE.—THE GHENT MEN ARE DEFEATED.—THEY ARE AGAIN DEFEATED AT HULST AND MOERBEKE.

The french ambassadors had scarcely left Ghent, when upward of five thousand men in arms issued forth to combat the duke's army wherever they could meet it. They had chosen for their leader a cutler of Ghent, a large heavy man, who had

boasted that he would overcome the duke; and his townsmen promised, that if he should succeed, they would make him lord of Waes, and indeed of all Flanders.

They marched for Hulst, a large village, in which was Anthony bastard of Burgundy with a strong force of well-tried men at arms, thinking to surprise him: but he had received intelligence of their coming, and advanced out to meet them. A sharp engagement took place, when they were defeated, with the loss of full three thousand men, and the cutler and several of the ghent men were taken. The bastard sent them to his father, the duke, who had them all hanged, or strangled, because they would not ask his pardon; and such was their obstinate hatred to him, that, although they were promised mercy if they would ask it, they refused. This was surely a wonderful sign of obstinacy!

Those who had escaped from this battle, to the amount of two thousand, fled to Moerbeke, wherein was a large company of their townsmen, then besieged by the Hollanders, ignorant of this defeat at Hulst. On seeing such numbers approach, the Hollan-

ders drew up in battle-array, and attacked them with such effect with their cross-bows that many were slain. In the mean time, the bastard, who had pursued them, now came up; and they were so severely handled that, of the two thousand, few, if any any, escaped death or being made prisoners.

The garrison of Moerbeke, witnessing the discomfiture of their countrymen, abandoned the town and fled to Ghent; so that when sir Anthony de Bourgogne and the Hollanders were preparing to attack the intrenchments, they found them empty, and entered the place without resistance, which they plundered of every thing worth taking away, and then set the town on fire.

The duke of Burgundy was, at this time, at a large village called Hoiguemustre*, in the country of Waes. The french ambassadors found him there on their return from Ghent, and told him all they had seen and heard in that town: on which the duke swore, that he would never

* Hoiguemustre. Q. Waesmustre?

make peace with them until they should submit unconditionally; and that if they would not do so by fair means, he would force them to it, or die in the attempt.

Without longer delay, he departed for Axel, which he conquered, and the whole of the country of Waes,—and thence he approached Ghent, and fixed his quarters at a place called Longpont, not far from the town. When those in Ghent saw this, they sent to the french ambassadors to request them to obtain passports from the duke, for a deputation to wait on him, to propose articles for a peace.

The good duke at the request of the ambassadors, and in compliment to the king of France, granted passports, but told the messengers from Ghent, that he would never conclude any treaty with them until they had submitted themselves and their town to his will. While this was passing, the duke's army made daily excursions to the gates of Ghent, burning and destroying houses, mills, and farms around, without mercy. In addition to these miseries, there raged in Ghent an epidemical dis-

order, which carried off such numbers that it was terrible to hear of it; insomuch, that those who remained, fearful of worse happening to them, sent to solicit the ambassadors to return to their town, which they did, — and, having assembled in the market-place, displayed the passports from their lord, and desired that all who wished for peace would stand apart, and the others on the contrary side. This was done, and the party for peace amounted to only seven thousand, while those on the opposite side were upwards of twelve thousand.

The ambassadors, observing so great a difference, desired them to assemble again on the morrow, when they would endeavour to bring about an agreement between them; but on the morrow, only those who wished for peace appeared. They desired that the ambassadors would return to the duke, with a deputation from them, to endeavour to mediate a peace by any possible means. The ambassadors so far prevailed that the duke consented to a truce of six weeks, on condition that the men of Ghent would deliver to him good and sufficient hostages (if during this term peace could not be ef-

fected), to indemnify him for the loss he should incur by disbanding his army and the expense of raising another, and for the due payment of the garrisons he should leave round Ghent, and in Courtray, Oudenarde, Alost, and Dendermonde during these six weeks. It was also stipulated, that no provision should enter Ghent in the mean time, but that what was already therein must supply their wants; nor was any thing to enter the principal towns of Flanders, without leave first had at the gates.

It was agreed, that the conferences for peace should be holden at Lille, and that the deputies from Ghent should not amount to more than fifty. These preliminaries being settled, the truce was proclaimed throughout the duke's army; and he then gave permission for his men at arms to return to the places they had come from, excepting such as he had left in garrison in the towns aforesaid. The duke went to Brussels, and his ministers to Lille. The ambassadors from France sent a herald to proclaim the truce in Ghent; but as his attendant was dressed in a surcoat

of the arms of the duke, namely, the cross of St Andrew, he was seized by the populace, as he was leading his horses to water, and instantly hanged, out of pique to the duke, and by way of revenge for the death of the cutler. The herald returned in safety, but very much frightened.

CHAP. XXXVI.

THE ARTICLES PROPOSED BY THE AMBASSADORS FROM FRANCE AS THE GROUNDWORK FOR A TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN THE MEN OF GHENT AND THEIR LORD,—BUT WHICH ARE NOT AGREED TO BY THOSE IN GHENT.

On the 22d day of July in the year 1452, the men of Ghent sent a deputation of fifty commissioners to Lille, to treat of a peace with the ministers of the duke of Burgundy and the ambassadors from France: they were also accompanied by master John de Poupincourt, advocate in the parliament. The duke refused at first to attend the conferences, and each party delivered in writing

to the ambassadors their separate proposals; but at the entreaty of the ambassadors and his ministers, the duke set out from Brussels, and arrived at Lille on the 27th of August.

When the deputies saw that the time for the expiration of the truce was near at hand, they were afraid to remain longer, and returned to Ghent, leaving behind only two heralds and an interpreter. Notwithstanding the departure of the deputies, the french ambassadors soon after gave judgment respecting their dissensions with the duke, and sentenced the men of Ghent to perform the following articles before they obtained peace.

They were ordered, in the first place, to close up the gate by which they had marched out to besiege Oudenarde, once every week, on the same day they passed it.

Item, the gate by which they had marched to the battle of Rupelmonde was to be shut up for ever.

Item, they were to lay aside their white hoods, as having been their badge of rebellion.

Item, foreign merchants should no

longer be amenable to the bye laws of Ghent, but only to those of the town and ban lieu.

Item, no one should be in future banished the town without the cause being specified, which had not been done before.

Item, as to the new regulation of the laws, four noble persons, officers of the duke, and four of the municipality, shall be selected for this purpose; and whereas formerly four-and-twenty persons formed the municipality, twelve of whom were always chosen from the company of weavers,—this shall now be abolished.

Item, whereas, when any troubles existed in the town, the banners of the trades were displayed, and the populace assembled in the market-place: it is ordained, that such proceedings be abolished, and that the banners be placed in a coffer fastened with five locks,—one key shall be delivered to the bailiff of Ghent,—the first sheriff shall have another,—the high deacon of trades the third,—and the other two shall be given in charge to two discreet persons elected by the townsmen,—and there shall be no more assembling in the market-place.

Item, neither the sheriffs nor any gentleman in Ghent shall issue public mandates in their names.

Item, the whole of the municipality, the deacons, governors, and two thousand of the commonalty shall advance half a league out of the town, clad only in their shirts, and humbly on their knees, beg pardon of their lord, saying, that they had wickedly and wrongfully made war against him their lord, for which they crave his mercy.

Item, should any of the duke's officers henceforth misbehave, his offence was not to be cognizable by the municipality,—but it must be referred to their lord and his council.

Item, whereas formerly the municipality of Ghent had usually extended their government over the country of Waes, Alost, Dendermonde and Oudenarde,—it was ordered, that the said ambassadors should, within the year, make a reformation, either by new ordinances or by resigning their jurisdiction altogether.

Item, to satisfy their lord for his ex-

penses in this war, they were to pay him two hundred and fifty thousand riddes*.

Such was the sentence of the ambassadors on those of Ghent,—who, however, notwithstanding their promises, refused absolutely to abide by it.

CHAP. XXXVII.

THE GHENT MEN RECOMMENCE THE WAR AGAINST THEIR LORD, AND BURN HULST. —A FRENCH HERALD ESCAPES FROM GHENT.

The two heralds and their interpreter returned from Lille to Ghent,—and the proposed articles for a peace with the duke of Burgundy were publicly read to the people. Great murmurings arose; and they said that their lord was too hard upon them, and that the conditions were not to be borne. They separated, however, without declaring positively against them, nor yet assenting to them,—and in this state they remained for about a fortnight.

* Riddes,—worth 5s. in Flanders, 3s. in Gueldres.

During this time, some of the most turbulent assembled in numbers, and chose for their captain a wicked fellow, called the bastard of Blanc-Estain,—and they styled themselves Companions of the Verde Tente.

Having well armed themselves, they sallied forth out of Ghent one night, and advanced to Hulst, a large village that had surrendered to the duke. On their arrival, they lighted torches and brands to deceive the inhabitants, and make them believe they intended to storm the place on that side, who indeed hastened thither in a body to defend themselves; but, in the mean time, these cunning rogues gained an entrance, without opposition, on the opposite side, and put to death all they met. They plundered the town completely, set it on fire, and returned with their booty to Ghent.

The ambassadors from the king of France were impatiently waiting at Lille, to know whether the ghent men would abide by the articles of peace. Wondering they received no intelligence from Ghent, they sent thither a herald, with letters to the principal inhabitants, to learn their will.

The herald, on coming to his lodgings, entreated his host to assist him in the delivering of his letters; but the host had compassion on him, and told him, if he valued his life, not to mention to any one the cause of his coming,—for, were it known, he would infallibly be put to death. He would not suffer him to quit his chamber the whole day, and, on the morrow, gave him his servant to escort him to the gates, —bidding him say to the porters, if any questions were asked him, that he was a french merchant returning to Antwerp,— and, for better security, made him put on his coat the wrong side outward.

The herald, very much alarmed, believed all his host had said, and set out very early, before the gates were opened. On coming to them, he was asked who he was, and replied, a french merchant returning to Antwerp. They asked for something to drink; and as he was untying his purse, the gates were opened; on seeing this, he put spurs to his horse, and galloped through without paying any thing,—but he did not think himself safe until he was arrived at Lille. He related to the ambassadors all

that had passed, who, finding that the ghent men would not adhere to their promises, took leave of the duke and returned to king Charles, carrying with them six thousand golden riddes, which the noble duke Philip had presented to them for their trouble.

The duke was ignorant of the capture of Hulst, until the ghent men had taken and burnt Axel. They would have gained Alost, had not sir Anthony de Wissoc, the governor for the duke, made so gallant a defence that they were repulsed. On their return to Ghent, they burnt all the villages that acknowledged the duke's government, and put men, women, and children, to death without mercy.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY RAISES A LARGE ARMY TO COMBAT THE GHENT MEN, WHO BURN HARLEBECK*, A LARGE VILLAGE NEAR COURTRAY.—OTHER EVENTS OF THIS WAR.

WHILE the duke of Burgundy, earl of Flanders, was waiting at Lille the answer from Ghent, he was informed of the loss of Hulst and Axel, and instantly assembled his army, with the addition of a large reinforcement from Burgundy; for he had ordered the lord de Beaumont, marshal of Burgundy, to join him. Before this army could be ready to take the field, a large body sallied out of Ghent, on the 23d of September, for Harlebeck, a considerable village near to Courtray, which they set on fire, killing the inhabitants indiscriminately, without regard to sex or age.

The duke, on hearing this, instantly with

* Harlebeck,—on the Lys, four leagues NE. from Courtray.

dispatched his nephew, Adolphus of Cleves, with a handsome force of men at arms and archers, to Courtray. On his arrival, he found every one in the utmost alarm, although the ghent men were returned home. When the duke's army was ready, he sent to Courtray the marshal of Burgundy as commander in chief. Sir Anthony, the bastard, was ordered to Dendermonde,—sir Simon and sir James de Lalain were sent to Oudenarde,—sir Anthony de Wissoc to Alost,—and sir Adolphus of Cleves returned to the duke at Lille.

The marshal, on his arrival at Courtray, caused it to be proclaimed throughout the flat countries, that all who were inclined to the duke's party should carry their effects to strong places for their security, and more especially those who were within five leagues of Ghent. The consequence was, that the greater part withdrew with their effects to Ghent. The marshal then ordered all the prisoners from Ghent to be hanged. On the other hand, the ghent men showed mercy to none, nor would they accept of any ransom, however great the sum offered, so deadly was this

warfare now become,—but more on the side of Ghent than on that of the duke.

The marshal, learning that all the provision and wealth of the low countries had been carried into Ghent, gave orders for all the villages within five leagues of Ghent, and even as far as that town, to be burnt, more particularly such as were on the roads leading to or from it; and if the Picards and Burgundians left any undestroyed, the ghent men burnt them, so that the greatest desolation afflicted all Flanders.

Among other acts, sir James de Lalain made an inroad to the walls of Ghent, burnt two of their mills, and carried off to Oudenarde fifteen waggons laden with corn, that were going to Ghent, for this time no sally was made against him. At another time, the marshal of Burgundy marched to Ghent, with the intent of combating the ghent men, if they would come out, but they refused. He then returned to Poulcres, a strong castle, took the lower court by storm, and then set it on fire, because the garrison had retreated into the castle, which was too strong to be then attempted, and returned to Courtray.

On the 25th of October, sir Anthony bastard of Burgundy marched from Dendermonde, together with the garrison of Alost, which he had summoned to join him, toward Ghent, having dispatched thirty of his best-mounted horsemen to show themselves before the gates and endeavour to entice the garrison to come out. The ghent men, having had intelligence of sir Anthony's coming, were ready to sally forth, and attacked these thirty men so hardly that they were astonished. With the ghent men were some english adventurers, who had come thither to seek fame and wealth, and were on horseback: the men of Ghent, in great numbers, were on foot, and pushed forward with such speed that the bastard was surprised at seeing them so near him. In this difficulty, he earnestly entreated his men to dismount; but, in spite of his orders and entreaties, only two men at arms dismounted, and three archers. I know not how it happened, but they were panicstruck, and all fled, so that with great difficulty the two men at arms were remounted, but the three archers were killed.

The bastard, vexed to the soul, collected twenty of his men, and remained in the rear of his runaways, and saved them from further loss. It is, however, possible that this flight saved all their lives; for the ghent men, informed, as I have said, of their intent, had assembled another body of men, who were to sally from a different gate, and destroy all the bridges the Picards would have to repass, and thus inclose them between the two divisions so that none could escape. Thus did this misfortune preserve from death sir Anthony and all his men, excepting the three archers.

CHAP. XXXIX.

THE MARSHAL OF BURGUNDY BURNS THE SMALL TOWN OF ECKELOO.—THE GHENT MEN ARE DEFEATED BEFORE ALOST, WHICH THEY INTENDED TO BESIEGE.

THE garrisons in Courtray and Oudenarde, knowing that there was a strong company of ghent men in Eckeloo, which is a considerable village, three leagues from Ghent, assembled under the command of the marshal and sir James de Lalain, and marched thither in handsome array. The ghent men no sooner saw them approach than they fled into the wood that was hard by. All could not escape, so that upwards of forty were left dead in the village. The place was then burnt, because the inhabitants would not desist from carrying provisions to Ghent, nor from ringing the alarm bell whenever they perceived any Burgundians appear. It was for this that all the villages five leagues round were set on fire, —and such as the Picards left, the ghent men burnt themselves.

On the 13th of November, the ghent men, having heard that sir Anthony de Wissoc, governor of Alost, was gone into Artois, assembled to the amount of twenty thousand on foot, under the conduct of a few English on horseback, and marched to lay siege to Alost. Sir Anthony the bastard and sir Francis the Arragonian had early intelligence of this at Dendermonde; and by orders of the bastard, sir Francis threw himself into Alost with three hundred hardy combatants.

Soon afterward, the ghent men appeared to commence their siege; but sir Francis, like a valiant knight, sallied forth with all he could collect, leaving a sufficient garrison in the town, and fell on the ghent men so vigorously that he soon threw them into disorder,—and they wheeled about and fled toward Ghent. All were not so fortunate, for there remained dead on the field eighteen English and seventeen ghent men; and had it not been for night coming on so soon, many more would have been slain.

On the ensuing Saturday, the marshal of Burgundy advanced to the gates of

Ghent, but none issued forth to combat him. On his return, twelve picardy archers remained in his rear, with the intent of plundering whatever they could find. Having crossed a small bridge, they saw no one; but they had not advanced far before they perceived, right before them, a large body of the enemy, and some English with them. They turned about, intending to retreat, but they saw the bridge covered with a number of peasants waiting for them. On this they took heart, thinking it better to die honourably than be taken and hanged: dismounting, they fastened their horses together, and then made such good use of their bows that no ghent man was bold enough to approach them. One of the English couched his lance, and advanced to the charge, thinking to put them into disorder; but they instantly opened their ranks for him to pass through, and then shot so briskly that his horse was wounded in several places, —and he was very glad to get out of their reach.

The Picards now blew their horns, as if their friends were within hearing,

which frightened the ghent men so much that they instantly ran off for their town; and the twelve archers, looking toward the bridge, saw no one, for the peasants had fled to the woods. They then remounted their horses, and returned to their companions in safety, having gained much honour by their defence against such numbers.

Another company of Picards made an excursion to Ghent, and took some of the Companions of the Verde Tente, and one of their captains, whose body was quartered, and the rest hanged.

CHAP. XL.

MENTION MADE OF DIFFERENT ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN THE PICARDS AND GHENT MEN.—THE LATTER ATTEMPT TO SET FIRE TO SOME PARTS OF HAINAULT.—THEY ARE MET BY THE PICARDS SOON AFTERWARD.

On the 2d day of December, sir Philip de Lalain, a young, bold and enterprising

knight, made an excursion to the walls of Ghent with the garrison of Oudenarde. Two hundred men on horseback sallied forth out of Ghent, and a combat commenced; when one of the principal townsmen was killed at the onset, who had, a little before, taken a youth of the duke's party prisoner, and made him his page.

The page, seeing his master dead, hastened to surrender himself to sir Philip, and assured him that upwards of four thousand men had sallied out at different gates to surround and make him and his party prisoners: it therefore behoved him to secure a retreat. At this moment, full three hundred men on horseback issued out of the gates, on which sir Philip began to retreat, often wheeling round to skirmish and check the enemy. Sir Philip de Lalain, his brother, having heard of his danger, hastened out of Oudenarde, with all he could collect at the moment, to his succour: he was then within a league of Oudenarde, skirmishing all the time with the ghent men, who pursued him with great caution, that their other divisions might arrive to their support; but the Pi-

cards, noticing this, made their retreat good into Oudenarde,—and the ghent men took up their quarters for the night at an abbey half a league from that town, and on the morrow returned to Ghent.

Not long afterward, the Companions of the Verde Tente, to the amount of ten thousand, advanced into Hainault, killed many of the peasantry, and burnt from sixteen to seventeen villages without any molestation. A few days prior to this excursion, about fifty English marched out of Ghent on pretence of attacking the Picards, but they went to Dendermonde and surrendered themselves to sir Anthony, the bastard, who received them very graciously, and enrolled them among his own men.

One of the duke's commanders, hearing that the ghent men were marching back from Hainault, hastened toward Ghent to meet them on their return,—and, being in great force, attacked them, and slew more than two hundred: the rest saved themselves in Ghent, except some prisoners the Picards had made and carried to Dendermonde.

CHAP. XLI.

THE GHENT MEN SEND A DEPUTATION TO THE COUNT D'ESTAMPES, TO MEDIATE A PEACE.—IMMEDIATELY AFTER THEY BESIEGE COURTRAY, BUT WITHOUT SUCCESS.—THEY ARE NEAR TAKING PRISONER THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY, ON HER ROAD TO BRUGES.

WHILE the Companions of the Verde Tente were thus employed in the field, the municipality of Ghent sent to entreat the count d'Estampes to procure passports from the duke their lord, that a deputation might wait on him respecting a peace. The count succeeded in obtaining them passports, — and the place of conference was fixed at Bruges, whither the duke sent some of his ministers, and the count d'Estampes as his representative.

The ghent men sent thither a deputation, with a carthusian friar, and an ancient knight called sir Baudouin de Bos, whom they had long kept prisoner on account of their suspicions of his fidelity to them, he

having declared an opinion contrary to their proceedings; and they even had him carried, with his eyes banded, to the scaffold to behead him: he would have suffered death, had not some steady friends, by their exertions, prevented it. These ghent commissioners behaved with the greatest insolence and pride on their arrival at Bruges, as if they had no way acted wrong toward their prince; and on their departure, they received no answer. They all returned except the knight and the Carthusian, who refused to accompany them back and remained in Bruges. The other commissioners staid so long on their road to Ghent that the term of their passports expired, and, falling in with a body of Picards, they were made prisoners and carried back to Bruges: among them were two of the greatest enemies the duke had in Ghent.

When the men of Ghent learnt that their deputies were prisoners, they sallied forth, on the 17th of February, in great numbers, and in three divisions. In this array they came before Courtray, the marshal of Burgundy being then absent with the duke at Lille. There was at this time

in the town a very valiant and adventurous knight from Picardy, called Gauvain Quieret, who, fearless of their numbers, issued out with the few people he had, and began a sharp skirmish; but he was soon forced to retreat into the town, as the ghent men were too many: he could not, however, retire without the loss of two of his men at arms and one archer. The ghent men then attacked the suburbs; but they were so well defended that they gained nothing, except killing one man at arms: they now returned to Ghent.

On the 2d of March following, sir Anthony, the bastard, on his advance toward Ghent, fell in with a considerable body of the enemy, and charged them so rapidly that he slew more than fifty, and took many prisoners, whom he carried to Dendermonde.

On the 5th day of this same month, the duchess of Burgundy left Lille, by orders from the duke, to go to Bruges. The ghent men soon had intelligence of this, — and, supposing that she would travel the strait road, they posted a strong ambuscade near that road, intending to overpower

her escort, and put those who composed it to death. The duchess was informed of their plan, and consequently took a different road, and arrived safely at Bruges.

Sir Simon de Lalain, governor of Sluys, hearing that the duchess was to travel from Lille to Bruges, set out with two hundred combatants to escort her thither, and followed the main road, ignorant of the ghent men being there. In his company was the lord de Maldeghen, a flemish knight, well acquainted with all the roads and passes. Happening to ride at some little distance from the great road, he espied the ambush of ghent men, who were watching the coming of the duchess, and also of sir Simon, whom they had perceived. The lord de Maldeghen instantly sounded his trumpets, as loudly as he could, that sir Simon, on hearing them, might retire,---but he was too far advanced for this, being already in the midst of his enemies without perceiving it. He was sharply attacked on all sides; his banner beaten down,—and he and his men were forced to show all their courage, to save their lives. They exerted themselves so manfully that, with the aid of the

lord de Maldeghen, who hastened to their succour, the ghent men were repulsed, — and they continued their march in safety to Bruges, having only lost three or four men at arms, and from twelve to sixteen archers, which was not much, considering how severe the attack had been.

Three or four days before this skirmish took place, the ghent men in Poulcres burnt Englemonstier, a considerable village belonging to the count dE'stampes, in right of his countess. They could do no harm to the castle, for it was strong and well garrisoned. A few days after this, the ghent men again demanded passports from the duke for twenty commissioners to meet his ministers any where he should appoint, to consider if they could find means to put an end to this disastrous war. The good duke complied with their request, and fixed on Seclin* as the place of conference, whither he sent the count d'Estampes as his representative, and some of his ministers, — but nothing was done, by reason of

* Seclin, — an ancient town in Flanders, four miles south of Lille.

the insolent pride of the ghent deputies.

Not long after the return of the deputies from Seclin, a french man at arms, who had offered his services to Ghent for gain, called Pierre Moreau, who also was one of their captains, collected a large company, and marched to attack Dendermonde, wherein was sir Anthony of Burgundy. The knight, having had notice of their coming, issued out to meet them, and, after killing several, forced them to retreat to Ghent.

[A. D. 1453.]

CHAP. XLII.

PIERRE MOREAU MAKES ANOTHER ATTACK ON DENDERMONDE. — THE GHENT MEN INVADE HAINAULT, AND COMMIT GREAT RAVAGES THERE.

On the 3d day of April, in the year 1453, immediately after Easter, Pierre Moreau

collected a greater force than before, and made another attempt on Dendermonde, but with no better success than formerly, and, having lost from nine to ten of his men, returned to Ghent.

On the 14th of the same month, the ghent men made another irruption into Hainault, with a very numerous army, as far as Tournay and Enghien, setting fire to all the villages, and slaying every one they met without opposition. To this they were incited, as it was said, by the duke's not having paid his soldiers, on which account very many had refused to serve him.

When this came to the knowledge of the duke, he issued his summons for greater levies of men than he had raised during the war, every vassal was summoned, and all who had been used to arms,—for he was determined to put an end to the war,—and all were to be ready by the 15th day of May. The artillery which the duke meant to carry with him to Flanders was kept in the great hall of the town-house at Lille. It happened, but it was never known how, that fire was thrown through a crack in a tower, the cellar of which served as the

magazine of powder for this artillery; but mischief was prevented by a person going accidentally into the cellar, and putting it out, as it was burning the hoops of a barrel of powder. Had not this person fortunately gone thither, the town-house, artillery, and probably the whole town would have been destroyed.

CHAP. XLIII.

THE GHENT MEN WOULD HAVE TAKEN ALOST BY STORM, HAD IT NOT BEEN WELL DEFENDED.—THE THREE ESTATES OF FLANDERS ARE URGENT FOR PEACE.

On the 8th day of May, upwards of fourteen thousand infantry, and two hundred cavalry, marched out of Ghent to besiege Alost, wherein were no more than three hundred fighting men, commanded by sir Louis de la Viefville, as lieutenant to the governor, sir Anthony de Wissoc, who had that day gone to Dendermonde.

Sir Louis sallied forth to meet the ca-

valry of Ghent, which had advanced before the infantry: a combat ensued, when some were killed, and the cavalry forced to fall back on their main body,—after which the Picards retreated into the town, and the ghent men encamped before it. When day broke, they attacked the town at four different places, and made so severe an attempt on one of the bulwarks that six men at arms were killed; but sir Louis hastening to its relief, he fought so valiantly that the enemy were obliged to retire, with the loss of twenty of their men. These attacks lasted full three hours,—and many were killed on each side; but the ghent men found it prudent to return to their encampment of the preceding night.

When sir Anthony de Wissoc heard of this attack at Dendermonde, he collected about six hundred Picards, and marched to offer battle to the ghent men; but on perceiving their superior numbers and order of battle, he dissembled his intentions, and lodged his army near them for the night, intending to combat them on the morrow if he should see it advantageous for him. This same night, however, the ghent men decamp-

ed and returned with all their baggage in safety to their town.

While these things were passing, a deputation of the three estates of Flanders, in conjunction with those of Bruges, waited on the duke at Lille, to request passports for certain of the ghent men to come to him, and treat of putting an end to the war. The noble duke, from his affection to them, granted their request; and soon after, twenty commissioners arrived at Lille from Ghent, who laboured so earnestly in the business that it was imagined peace must now be concluded. In this expectation, the ambassadors returned to Ghent; but when they had reported the preliminary terms, the commonalty refused to abide by them, and thus was the treaty broken off.

While this negotiation was going forward, the men at arms whom the duke had raised were doing all possible mischiefs to his country,—and no person could venture abroad without being robbed, even to the very gates of the principal towns; and this plague lasted for upwards of six weeks.

CHAP. XLIV.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY SENDS AN ARMY INTO LUXEMBOURG AGAINST SOME GERMANS, WHO, FROM THIONVILLE*, WERE WASTING THAT COUNTRY.—THE DUKE ENTERS FLANDERS WITH A LARGE FORCE, TO MAKE WAR ON GHENT.

About Easter, in this year, some Germans, who had possessed themselves of the strong town of Thionville, overran, at different times, the duchy of Luxembourg, which was under obedience to the duke, and all its towns, excepting this town of Thionville. These Germans continuing their incessant inroads, the duke was constrained to send thither the lord de Rubempré, a Picard, with one hundred men at arms and four hundred archers: but he found the enemy in such strength that he was unable to oppose them. The duke, although hard pressed to find men to carry on his war against Ghent, was forced to send reinforce-

* Thionville,—a strong town of Luxembourg on the Moselle, 12 leagues from Treves.

ments into Luxembourg. He therefore ordered thither the lord de Croy, his first chamberlain, and governor of Luxembourg, with one hundred lances and eight hundred archers, whose principal captains were the lord of Hames, the lord of Mareuil, the lord of Dommarcq*, and others.

The ghent men, on the other hand, did not cease from carrying fire and sword into Hainault and the defenceless parts of Flanders. On the 15th day of June, they advanced toward Ath†, to burn that part of the country; but sir John de Croy lord of Chimay, having had early notice of their intentions, defeated them completely, killing three hundred, and taking numbers of prisoners, whom he carried off without molestation.

The duke of Burgundy marched from Lille on the 20th day of June, with a most numerous army to Courtray: he had a large train of artillery, and plenty of pioneers to open the woods and clear the roads, and

* Dommarcq.——Du Cange, Dormnast.

† Ath,—a town in Hainault, nine miles north-west of Mons.

numbers of carpenters to construct warlike engines. These pioneers and carpenters had been sent thither at the expense of the countries under the duke's obedience.

The principal nobles in this army were the count d'Estampes, sir James de St Pol, brother to the count de St Pol, who was then employed by the king of France in the Bordelois against the English. The marshal of Burgundy was also with the duke, having with him three hundred men at arms, whom he had brought from Burgundy, and many other great lords and esquires from the territories of the duke.

The duke marched his whole army from Oudenarde the 25th day of June, to besiege the castle of Helsebecque, and a strong monastery hard by. The monastery was instantly won by storm, and thirty-two ghent men taken within it, whom the duke caused to be hanged. The castle surrendered unconditionally the second day afterward, when about one hundred and fifty men, that were made prisoners, suffered a similar fate, by command of the duke.

CHAP. XLV.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY TAKES THE CASTLE OF POULCRES,—BUT THAT FLOWER OF CHIVALRY SIR JAMES DE LALAIN IS SLAIN BEFORE IT.—HE BESIEGES THE CASTLE OF GAVERE*, TAKES IT, AND HANGS ALL WITHIN, BEFORE THE GHENT MEN ADVANCE TO OFFER HIM BATTLE, —THEY ARE DEFEATED.

AFTER the capture of the castle of Helsebecque, the duke advanced to besiege the castle of Poulcres, which the ghent men obstinately defended. It happened, that during the time the artillery men were pointing a bombard against the wall, in the presence of sir James de Lalain and other lords, sir James was hit on the head by a stone from a veuglaire in the castle, which carried away part of his skull, and he fell down dead. It was a great loss, for he was renowned as not having his equal in all

* Gavere,—Gaveren, a town on the Scheld, seven miles from Ghent.

France,—witness his many deeds of chivalry in Scotland, Spain, and in other parts, where he had displayed his gallantry. He was also the most modest, the most prudent, most courteous, and most liberal of mankind, fearing and serving God above all things. He was but thirty-two years of age when death so unfortunately seized him; and this same shot from the veuglaire killed also a man at arms and four archers.

The duke of Burgundy was very much affected by the death of sir James, for he loved him more than any other of his household for his numberless virtues, and had the place attacked with such violence that the garrison were forced to submit to his will. He had the whole hanged, excepting five or six, one of whom was a leper, and the rest boys. He then had the place razed to the ground, and the body of sir James de Lalain most honourably interred at his church of Lalain*.

After the surrender of Poulcres, the duke returned to Courtray, and left his army to live on the country, where the

* Lalain,—a village in Flanders, near Bouchain.

men at arms did innumerable mischiefs; for he had not money sufficient to pay them until his revenues were paid, and he had borrowed as much as he could from the rich merchants and burghers of his territories, the war having totally exhausted his treasury. He resided at Courtray twelve days,—and during that time his finances were recruited, and he paid his army one month in advance; so that, on the 16th day of July, he departed from Courtray to besiege the castle of Gaveren, which was strongly fortified and held by the ghent men. It is situated between Ghent and Oudenarde.

In marching thither, he formed his army into three battalions. The marshal of Burgundy, as commander in chief, sir Anthony the bastard, the lord de Chimay bailiff of Hainault, with a numerous company of men at arms and archers, led the van. In the center was the duke, the most fearless, courageous, and gallant of men: with him were his son the count de Charolois, the count d'Estampes, sir Adolphus of Cleves, and almost all the knights and esquires of Picardy. In the rear division

were sir James de St Pol, the lord de l'Isle-Adam, and the whole chivalry of the Boulonois.

This army was in truth very strong; and there was need that it should be so, for the men of Ghent had boasted, that this time, they would fairly meet the duke in battle. When they learnt that the duke intended to besiege Gaveren, they sent thither an Englishman, called John de Voz, a very able man at arms, with sixteen others, and swore to him, on his departure, that the duke should not remain four-and-twenty hours unfought with. Nevertheless, the duke's army posted themselves around the place,—and the batteries were erected without any molestation.

There was at this time in the place a trumpeter, who had formerly served one of the lords in the duke's army, but had turned to the ghent men: he mounted the highest rampart.—and, having sounded his trumpet as loudly as he could, he abused the duke in the grossest manner, calling him a tyrant,. and threatening him that the men of Ghent would soon lower his pride. The duke, when told of this, like a good

prince, laughed at it, and turned the trumpeter's folly into ridicule.

Although the place was unfavourably situated for the batteries to have their full effect, they alarmed the garrison so much that they offered to surrender on having their lives spared, seeing also that the ghent men did not fulfil their promises when they left that town; but the duke refused their offer. When the Englishman heard this, and found that the men of Ghent had deceived him, it is said that he had a communication with some of the English in the duke's army, and promised to deliver up to them one of the towers of the castle; but this he could not accomplish,—for the ghent men had no confidence in him, nor in any of the English. A vessel happened to be lying in the river, near to the castle, and during the night John de Voz, and fourteen others, embarked on board and went to Ghent.

When those in Gaveren saw the next morning that their captain had deserted them, they abandoned all hope of succour, and surrendered themselves to the duke's will before twelve of the clock. His will

was that they should be all hanged or strangled, together with two cordelier friars that were in the place, and the trumpeter who had abused the duke.

John de Voz and his companions, on their arrival in Ghent, remonstrated sharply with the leaders in the town, how greatly they had deceived those in Gaveren, and how weakly they had acted; for they never would again have so favourable an opportunity of combating the duke, since he had not now with him more than four thousand fighting men, the rest having disbanded from want of pay; and he concluded by exhorting them strongly to sally forth and offer the duke battle.

In the mean time, sir John de Hout, an Englishman, who had surrendered himself to sir Anthony the bastard, as I have mentioned, had a secret communication with the duke, on the means of enticing the ghent men out of their town, for he was extremely anxious to meet their whole force in the field. Soon afterward, John de Hout returned to Ghent, under pretence of repenting of his having left them, and told them that the duke's army was daily

wasting away from default of payment. The men of Ghent, however, doubting his fidelity, ordered him to prison, lest he should betray them: he was there confined until John de Voz had pressed them so earnestly to attack the duke, with their whole force, when they released him and made him one of their captains. They commanded all the gates to be kept closed, that no one might carry to the duke information of their intentions, and gave orders that every person capable of bearing arms should provide himself, and appear properly armed and accoutred, under pain of death. It was necessary for all to obey this order, or suffer the consequences; but many did obey very much against their will.

They mustered upward of four-and-twenty thousand men under arms, and appointed as leaders the said English and their companions, who amounted to full two hundred on horseback. When they saw their numbers, and that all was ready, they issued out of Ghent to combat their lord.

Three days before this event, the good

duke expecting daily an attack from Ghent, and desirous that his son the count de Charolois might not be present at the battle, on account of the dangers that are incident to such affairs, gave him to understand that the duchess was dangerously ill at Lille, and that he would do well to go thither and see how she was. The count, like a good son, hastened to Lille, but found the duchess recovered, and in good health. He then knew that the reason why the duke had sent him on this errand was to prevent him from being present at the battle. He told his attendants that it was absolutely necessary he should be present to aid his father, for that he was fighting to preserve his inheritance,—and, said he, 'I vow to God that I will be there, if possible.' When the duchess heard of this vow, she tried all she could to detain him, but in vain, for he instantly set off and joined the duke before Gaveren.

CHAP. XLVI.

THE BATTLE OF GAVEREN, WHERE THE GHENT MEN ARE COMPLETELY DEFEATED, WITH THE LOSS OF UPWARD OF TWENTY THOUSAND MEN SLAIN AND DROWNED.

On the same day the castle of Gaveren was yielded up, and when all the garrison were not yet hanged, news was brought to the duke while sitting at dinner, that the ghent men were in full march to offer him battle. The duke ordered the trumpets to sound to horse, and the army was drawn up in three battalions as before. When it was done, the duke rode from one battalion to another to show himself, and to encourage his men, telling them, that if it pleased God, they should all that day be made rich.

The army now moved, the three battalions near to each other, when sir James de St Pol and many others from Burgundy, Picardy, and other territories of the duke, were knighted, and several that day dis-

played their banners for the first time. This mortal battle took place on the 22nd day of July, in the year 1453.

The duke had scarcely advanced before the van perceived the ghent men drawn up in battle-array, with their culverins and other artillery placed in their front. This manœuvre alarmed the marshal of Burgundy, who commanded the van, lest too many of his men should suffer at the onset; and he ordered his division to retire a little, which the ghent men mistaking for an intention to fly, hastened forward leaving their artillery in the rear.

John de Voz and John de Hout, with their english companions led them on, but soon, sticking spurs into their horses, galloped to surrender themselves to the duke, saying, 'My lord, here are the ghent men, whom we have brought to you, and we leave them to your mercy.' The archers now shot fiercely on the ghent men, who defended themselves for a time very valiantly; but no sooner did the three battalions of the duke make a uniform charge than their ranks were broken, and they instantly fled for Ghent.

The duke's army pursued them closely, and it was marvellous the numbers they slew. It chanced that a division of the ghent men, to the number of fourteen or fifteen hundred, had retreated into a meadow under cover of a coppice, where they regained courage and put themselves on their defence. This meadow was surrounded with ditches, so that neither the duke nor his men at arms could enter it by reason of their depth. Among those with the duke was a man at arms from Bruges, who thrice leaped the ditch to skirmish with those in the field; but at the third leap, his horse fell dead under him, from the severe blows received from the enemy's pikes.

The duke had not any archers with him, for they had all dismounted, and could not easily overtake the runaways on horseback, to put them to death; for the duke hated them mortally, and was more vexed than can be imagined to see those who had leaped the ditches forced back again by the resistance they met with. Then this valiant prince, seizing his lance from the page who bore it by his side,

raging like a lion, made his horse leap the ditch, and charged the thickest of the ghent men. He was followed by many men at arms,—and in the number was Bertrandon de la Brocquiere, who bore his pennon. The duke's horse was so badly wounded in several places that he was obliged to leap back again over the ditch and wait the return of the archers. On their arrival, he again crossed the ditch, followed by his son the count of Charolois, and numbers of others, who charged the ghent men so courageously that they were defeated, and all found in the meadow were slain. It was difficult for them to escape, as it was surrounded by ditches on three sides, and by the Scheld on the other: many leaped into the river, and were drowned,—but a few of the most active and lighter armed made such good use of their legs that they saved themselves in Ghent. It is certain, that had the duke marched thither instantly, he must have entered without opposition, so much were those in the town frightened and cast down, —but his guides were unacquainted with the roads.

When the battle was over, some few escaped into Ghent; and the duke, having recalled his men, lay that night on the field of battle in his tent,—where, casting himself on his knees, he offered his thanksgivings to God for the great and decisive victory he had that day given him over his bitterest enemies.

Upward of twenty thousand of the ghent men lost their lives this day, by the sword or by drowning. The bastard de Blanc-Estain, however, saved himself by swimming across the Scheld. On the side of the duke, not more than sixteen men were killed from the commencement of the battle!

CHAP. XLVII.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, MOVED BY PITY, SENDS HIS HERALD TO GHENT TO KNOW IF THE TOWNSMEN WOULD SUBMIT TO HIS WILL, AND HE WOULD HAVE COMPASSION ON THEM.—THE MEN OF GHENT SEND HIM A DEPUTATION TO BEG HIS MERCY.

On the morrow after the defeat of the ghent men, the noble duke, moved by compassion, and his own virtuous nature, for his poor subjects, who, through pride and insolence, had rebelled against him, sent his herald, clad in his coat of arms, with letters to Ghent, signifying, that notwithstanding the victory which God had given him the preceding day, he would show them mercy if they would submit to his will, and had transmitted them passports for a deputation to come to him, should they be so inclined, to arrange articles for a general peace.

The ghent men were very sensible of

the duke's kindness in thus graciously recalling them to his affection, and of the mildness of the expressions in his letter. They handsomely feasted the herald; and on the letter being publicly read, the whole town were unanimous for begging pardon of their lord, and, without further delay, sent a deputation back with the herald.

On their appearing before the duke, they, with the utmost humility, requested pardon for their offences, and besought him that he would have the goodness to restore them to his favour, offering, at the same time, to submit themselves and their town to his will. They also requested that he would retire to Gaveren, and dismiss his men at arms, and they would there wait on him to hear and do his will.

The good duke granted their requests; but, on returning to Gaveren, over the field of the late battle, he was so shocked at the multitudes of dead bodies that he wept bitterly, as it was said. As he saw several women searching for the bodies of their friends, to bury them, he caused proclamation to be made, that no one should molest

them, whatever might be his rank, under pain of death.

On the 25th day of July, the abbot of St Bavon, in Ghent, the prior of the Carthusians, and many persons of note, waited on the duke at Gaveren, and, falling on their knees, begged mercy for the inhabitants of Ghent, who offered to surrender every thing up to him, saving their lives. The duke replied, that, from love to God, he pardoned all their misdeeds, provided they would agree to the preliminaries proposed at Seclin, and concluded at Lille by the three estates of Flanders and the burghers of Bruges. They promised, in the name of their townsmen, to abide wholly by this treaty, and most humbly thanked the duke for his great benignity and kindness.

CHAP. XLVIII.

HERE FOLLOW THE ARTICLES OF THE TREATY BETWEEN PHILIP THE GOOD, AND THE TOWN OF GHENT.

THE treaty of Ghent consisted of the following articles. In the first place, the inhabitants of Ghent, to the number of two thousand men, shall come out, to the distance of one league from that town, to wherever their prince may appoint, barefooted and bareheaded, to beg his mercy. They were to be headed by all the counsellors, sheriffs, and hoguemans of the town, naked, excepting their shirts and small clothes. They were to fall on their knees before the duke, his son, or any other person whom the duke should please to send thither as his representative, saying,—that that they had wickedly and traitorously rebelled against him in arms,—that they had insolently contemned him, and begged his pardon for all their evil deeds.

Item, on every Thursday throughout the year, the gate leading to Oudenarde

shall be closed, because it was through that gate they marched to besiege Oudenarde, and that it may remind them thereof.

Item, the gate leading toward Rupelmonde shall be closed for ever, in remembrance of their having issued out of it to offer battle to their lord at Rupelmonde.

Item, they shall pay to the duke, for the losses he may have sustained by this war, two hundred thousand riddes of gold, seventy to the marc.

Item, they shall pay for the restoration of the countries which have been burnt, whatever sums the three estates of Flanders shall determine on; but if the three estates shall decline this arbitration the sum shall be fixed at one hundred thousand riddes.

Item, for the reparation of churches destroyed, they shall pay fifty thousand riddes.

Item, in recompense for the revenue of the prince's domain in Flanders, which has been unpaid by reason of the war, such an imposition shall be laid as the three estates of Flanders shall determine.

Item, there shall be a complete re-

formation of the laws of Ghent, in the form and manner that has been lately proposed by the ambassadors from king Charles of France, namely, that the commonalty shall elect four magistrates, and the duke, or his officers four others,—and these shall select twenty-six sheriffs before they quit the chamber in which they have been assembled for this purpose.

Item, in regard to the burghers, they will act toward them according to their privileges, without paying attention to the customs or usages of former times.

Item, no one in future shall be banished Ghent without an appeal first had to the bailiff, nor without the cause of his banishment being declared.

Item, they shall no longer issue ordinances or edicts without the knowledge and consent of their lord,—and such as may have been thus issued shall be declared null and void.

Item, the officers of the prince shall no longer acknowledge any obedience to the magistrates in respect to their official capacities.

Item, they shall no longer, in their

writings or proclamations, sign themselves lords of Ghent, but give them such title as the magistrates of other towns use.

Item, they shall not in future take any cognizance of the crimes of foreign merchants,—but they shall be decided on by the judges of the places wherein such merchants shall reside.

Item, they shall deliver up all their banners to their lord, for him to do with them as he may please,—and they shall not hereafter make any others in their stead.

Item, white hoods shall no more be worn,—and whoever wears them shall be punished according to the will of their lord.

Item, they shall have no cognizance of any law-causes that may arise in the country of Waes, or in the respective towns of Biervliet*, Dendermonde, Oudenarde, Courtray or Alost,—but these shall be tried in those places where they have had their origin.

Item, they shall be bounden to keep

* Biervliet,—a town on the west side of the Scheld, 20 miles from Ghent.

all the articles of a former treaty concluded by them in the presence of the bishop of Tournay, and others of the great council of the duke.

All these articles, having been declared in the presence of the duke, his son, and great numbers of the nobility, were sworn to, and promised to be observed by the magistrates and commonalty of Ghent, and some notaries called in to witness the act. The deputation then returned to Ghent with the treaty, which, when read to the public, was so joyfully accepted that it astonished every one: they lighted bonfires in all the streets, and gave permission for such of the duke's men as pleased to enter the town, and entertained those who accepted of it most handsomely.

CHAP. XLIX.

THE MANNER IN WHICH THE GHENT MEN HUMBLE THEMSELVES TO THEIR LORD, THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

On the last day of July, the noble duke of Burgundy departed from Gaveren, with his whole army, in handsome array, as if marching to battle, and thus advanced until within a league of Ghent. He then drew up his archers in ranks, as two wings, with bended bows, and they extended full half a league: the men at arms were on the rear of the archers, in close order, so that it was a handsome sight to view. In the center was the duke, mounted on the same horse he had rode on the day of battle, which was apparent from the many wounds plaistered over, that he had received in the meadow, when he himself, his son, and other knights, attacked the body of ghent men.

At this time, the men of Ghent issued out of their town, in numbers and dress conformable to the terms of the treaty,

led by the abbot of St Bavon and the prior of the Carthusians, and followed by the twenty-five sheriffs, counsellors, and hoguemans, naked to their shirts and under garments, and bareheaded. Then came two thousand of the burghers dressed, but barefooted, without girdles, and without hoods, and thus passed through the line of archers. When they came within sight of the duke, they all fell on their knees, and cried with a loud voice, 'Have mercy on the town of Ghent!'

The chancellor of Burgundy now advanced toward them, and remonstrated sharply on their rebellious and wicked conduct, in opposing their legal lord, and taking up arms against him; adding, that their wickedness had been so enormous that he was doubtful whether their prince would pardon them. On hearing this, they again fell on their knees, and repeated their cries of 'Mercy on the town of Ghent!' They then rose, and proceeded until they came in front of the duke, who was on his war-horse, magnificently dressed, when, falling on their knees, most humbly, and with many tears, they be-

sought him to have compassion on them, and forgive them their evil deeds.

The town-council now approached the duke, and, in the name of the whole town, supplicated his pity and benign grace that he would pardon his subjects of Ghent, now prostrate before him, although they had wickedly rebelled against him, elected hoguemans, and done numberless wicked acts, of which they now repented, and promised that if he would, in his mercy, receive them into favour, the like should never again happen, and that henceforward they would remain the most loyal and faithful of his subjects.

At the conclusion of this speech, the duke, and his son the count de Charolois, there present, pardoned them their evil deeds. The men of Ghent returned to their town more happy and rejoiced than can be expressed; and the duke departed for Lille, having disbanded his army that every one might return to their several homes.

CHAP. L.

WHILE THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY IS CARRYING ON HIS WARFARE AGAINST THE GHENT MEN, THE LORD DE CROY IS VERY ACTIVE IN OPPOSING THE GERMANS IN THE DUCHY OF LUXEMBOURG, WHERE THEY HAD DONE MUCH MISCHIEF.

I HAVE before mentioned, that while the duke of Burgundy was engaged in his war on Ghent, he had sent the lord de Croy to the duchy of Luxembourg to oppose the Germans, who were making frequent inroads on that duchy, and had gained possession of places that appertained to the duke.

The Germans, whenever they intended any inroad, amounted from eight to nine hundred men; and their main garrison was in Thionville, a small but very strong town. The lord de Croy, with the aid of those under the obedience of the duke, conducted himself with such prudence and courage that he regained all the places

the Germans had conquered. He had frequent encounters with them, in which several were killed on both sides. In short, he pressed them so hard that they demanded a truce for ten months, offering to leave the country unmolested during that term, and also to surrender Thionville to the duke, unless in the interim they should conquer him or his troops in open battle. This was agreed to by the duke, and the truce signed to continue until Ascension-day, in the year 1454. War therefore ceased in that country, and the army under the lord de Croy was disbanded.

CHAP. LI.

KING CHARLES OF FRANCE CONQUERS BORDEAUX AND THE BORDELOIS A SECOND TIME.

During the time of the war in Flanders, the king of France was with a large army in the Bordelois, which the English had lately reconquered. The commander of

the English was a most valiant knight and long renowned in arms, called sir John Talbot earl of Shrewsbury, who had made war on France upward of twenty-four years. He had been the king's prisoner when he regained Rouen; and out of his generosity, and respect for such valour, the king had remitted his ransom. The king also made him very rich presents in gold, silver, and horses, when he learnt that Talbot intended visiting Rome in the jubilee year, namely, 1450.

Nevertheless, on his return from Rome to England, he again engaged in war, and found means to recover from the king of France the city of Bordeaux, which had shown him such honour, and the country round. It was indeed commonly reported at the time, that the inhabitants of the Bordelois most willingly surrendered to the English from their disgust at king Charles, who, since his conquest, had imposed upon them heavier taxes, and that his officers had treated them with more harshness than they had been accustomed to when under the government of the English.

CHAP. LII.

POPE NICHOLAS NOTIFIES TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY A CROISADE AGAINST THE TURKS.—THE DUKE VOWS TO UNDERTAKE AN EXPEDITION TO TURKEY, ON CERTAIN CONDITIONS.

On the eve of Martinmas-day in this year, a knight sent by pope Nicholas arrived at Lille, with letters addressed to the duke, containing intelligence that the grand Turk, with a numerous army of Saracens, had invaded Christendom; that he had already conquered the noble city of Constantinople, and almost all Greece; that he had captured the emperor of Greece, had caused him to be inhumanly beheaded, had violated the empress, and had dragged through the streets of Constantinople the precious body of our Lord, had burnt the magnificent church of St Sophia, and murdered men, women, and children of the Christians without number, and was daily adding to his conquests in Christendom.

For these causes the holy father re-

quired of the duke, whom he knew to be a pious and catholic prince, as well as the most puissant in Christendom, that he would make dispositions to afford succour to his distressed brethren; and to oppose the enemy of the faith. When the duke had read this letter from the pope, the knight presented him with others that the Turk had written and sent to our holy father. After the perusal of all these letters, the duke grandly feasted the knight who had brought them, at the same time giving him many rich presents, and saying that, should it please God, he would speedily afford good assistance to the Christians against the Turk. In fact, he soon afterwards dispatched four galleys well filled with men at arms, artillery and stores, as a beginning of what he intended, writing, at the same time, to the pope an answer to his letter, explanatory of his future intentions.

Shortly after the departure of the knight, the duke of Cleves came to Lille on a visit to his uncle duke Philip of Burgundy, and staid until the beginning of Lent. Many great feasts and banquets were given alternately by the different great

lords, which were begun by the count d'Estampes with a very handsome one, that was marvellously well supplied with every delicacy. At the end of the banquet, a most beautiful young girl, well accompanied, entered the hall, bearing a chaplet of flowers, when, mounting the table, she gracefully placed it on the head of duke Philip, who received it with joy. This ceremony of the chaplet signified that he was to give the next entertainment, which he did most magnificently, about twelve days after, in the manner I shall now describe.

About one hour after midday, a knight, sprung from the race of the celebrated knights of the Swan, issued out of the duke's palace brilliantly armed. This was sir Adolphus of Cleves, nephew to the duke, who held a justing in the market-place of Lille, that day, against all comers, with one course of a lance. He was preceded by the figure of a swan as large as a horse, having on his neck a chain of fine gold, with which he led the knight: on each side of the swan was a savage, — and the knight was surrounded by little angels. The knight was immediately followed by the duke, so

sumptuously dressed it was delightful to see him. When they had escorted the knight to the market-place, he tilted with all that chose to encounter with him, namely, Charles count de Charolois, Louis count de Saint Pol, his brother the lord de Fiennes, sir Anthony, bastard of Burgundy, and many more.

After the justing, the company returned to the duke's palace, and he escorted thither himself those ladies and damsels who had been present at the tilt: the principal of whom were the lady Isabella of Portugal, the duchess, and the lady Isabella of Bourbon, niece to the duke, the lady of Ravestein, and numbers of others most richly dressed.

The banquet was quite ready on their return; and when the company were seated, three large carriages, splendidly ornamented, descended from the ceiling, full of every delicacy in meats and liquors: each carriage contained a service. In front of the upper table was a fountain playing water; and in the middle of the hall was a live lion, before whom a man was beating a little dog,—and near the lion, in an ar-

bour, was a savage. In another part of the hall was the figure of a damsel, from whose breasts spouted hippocras in great abundance: beside the damsel was an infant that pissed rose water. There were so many other pageants it would be tiresome to mention them all. Opposite to the duke's table was a representation of a church, whence issued a friar seated on a dromedary, led by a living giant. The friar addressed his speech to the duke, remonstrating, in eloquent language, how the church was daily losing its inheritances, and Christendom trampled under foot by the enemies of the faith. He called to his remembrance the valour of deceased princes: how in their time they had, by their courage, supported and defended the church. As he was thus uttering his complaints, in the name of the holy church, Golden Fleece, the duke's herald of the order, entered with a pheasant finely roasted and adorned, and presented it to the duke as an *entremets*, saying such a dish was appropriate to making vows. The duke replied, that he was right; and in the presence of the whole company vowed to GOD the Father, GOD the Son, and GOD

the blessed Holy Ghost, three persons in one GOD, to the glorious Virgin Mary, mother of GOD, and the whole court of paradise, that if the king of France would engage, during his absence, to maintain his estates in tranquility, he would, himself, march his whole army into Turkey, and combat army with army, or personally, with the grand Turk, until death, at the choice of the Turk. The company before they heard this vow had been all joy, but they now began to weep and groan.

The pheasant was presented to each of the great lords present, who all made vows to the same effect, but under different conditions. To relate the whole would take up too much time,—so I shall pass them over, and say, that the banquet was succeeded by dancings and mummeries, after which every one retired to his home*.

* For further particulars of this banquet, I refer the reader to a note in the Travels of Bertrandon de la Brocquiere.

CHAP. LIII.

CHARLES COUNT DE CHAROLOIS, SON TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, IS BETROTHED TO HIS COUSIN-GERMAN THE LADY ISABELLA OF BOURBON.—THE DUKE GOES INTO GERMANY,—AND SOON AFTER HIS RETURN, THE COUNT MARRIES HIS COUSIN-GERMAN.

About eight days after this banquet, and in the first week of March, in the same year, the count de Charolois was betrothed, by order of his father the duke of Burgundy, to his cousin-german the lady Isabella of Bourbon, daughter to the duke of Bourbon,—and the duke sent to Rome for the dispensations necessary for their marriage. After this, he dismissed his household for twelve months, as he intended to remain so long in Germany.

On the 15th of March, the duke left Lille privately attended, and passed through Burgundy on his road to Germany, where he was to meet the Emperor Frederic and other princes of Germany, to learn whether

they would join him in a war against the Turk, or suffer his army to pass through their territories without molestation or hinderance.

He was grandly feasted by many of the german princes,—but the emperor, who loved ease more than exertion, and preferred peace to war, pretended to be ill, and sent word to the duke that it would not be worth his while to proceed farther in the country, giving him hopes that at the end of six months he would meet him to conclude the business he was so urgent upon. The duke was now forced to abandon his expedition,—and he returned to his country of Burgundy, where he staid some time.

CHAP. LIV.

THE KING OF FRANCE GOES TO HIS CASTLE OF LUSIGNAN.—THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY TAKES FRONSAC.—THE FRENCH BESIEGE CHASTILLON.—LORD SHREWSBURY ASSEMBLES A LARGE FORCE TO RAISE THIS SIEGE.—HE IS THERE SLAIN.

In this same year of 1454, the king of France left Tours, and fixed his residence at the castle of Lusignan; and in the mean time, lord Shrewsbury laid siege to the castle of Fronsac. The governor for king Charles was Joachim Rohault, who was forced to surrender to the English because the king's army was not ready,—but the garrison marched away with arms and baggage.

On the 2d of June, the king departed from Lusignan for St Jean d'Angely*; and on the 7th, Challais† was besieged by sir

* St Jean d'Angely,—an ancient town in Saintonge, 38 leagues from Bordeaux.

† Challais,—in Saintonge near Saintes.

John de Chabannes grand master of the king's household, the count de Penthievre, the lords de St Severe and de Boussac. On the 18th, it was won by storm by the above lords and their men, amounting to four or five hundred lances, archers, and some franc archers, although eight score* combatants were there in garrison. From sixty to eighty were killed, and the rest retreated to a tower, wherein they held out for a time expecting to be relieved; but as no succours came, they surrendered to the king's pleasure: in consequence, they were all beheaded for having broken their oaths of allegiance. The lord d'Anglades had indeed left Bordeaux for their relief,—but when he heard what had passed, he returned back as speedily as he could.

The French laid siege to Châtillon in Perigord, the 13th day of July: it is situated on the river Dordogne, and was occupied by the English. The lords de Loheac and de Jalognes, marshals of France, were ordered to conduct the siege, having with them many great barons, knights and

* Eight score,—probably eight hundred.

esquires, and from sixteen to eighteen hundred men at arms and archers. In the above number are included the men at arms of the count du Maine, under the command of sir Pierre de Beauveau, lord de la Bessiere: those of the count de Nevers, commanded by sir Ferry de Grancey: those of the count de Castres, son to the lord de la Marche, under sir Louis du Puy, seneschal of la Marche, Guillaume de Lusac and Jean de Messignac: those of the duke of Brittany having for chief his nephew the count d'Estampes, but commanded by the lord de la Hunodaie and the lord de Montauban, because the count d'Estampes had remained with the king. The royal artillery, both small and great, was also sent thither, under the direction of master John Bureau and his brother Jasper Bureau, master of the artillery. They had with them seven hundred labourers, to work the guns and bombards. The two brothers first ordered the park of artillery to be strongly surrounded with ditches, and made secure against the enemy, before they attended to the siege.

The earl of Shrewsbury, hearing of this,

hastily set off from Bordeaux, with eight hundred or a thousand horse, attended by his son lord Lisle, the lord Molyns, and many others, the most valiant of the english captains, as well lords as knights and esquires, from the Bordelois and from England. He was followed by four or six thousand English on foot. The earl and his companions arrived at the siege on the 17th of July, about day-break; and when the French saw him advancing, they retreated into the field wherein the artillery had been placed, and which had been fortified with ditches,—but he fell in with some of the franc archers, who had been unable to effect their retreat, and killed from one hundred to six score of them.

The French made great exertions to retire within the inclosure, for the English were advancing fast on them, thinking that they were flying, having abandoned their siege. The earl, in the mean time, as he was waiting for the infantry, had a pipe of wine set on its end, and drawn off to refresh his men. The French had now nearly all gained the park, and were forming in handsome order: the cannoneers had also

brought their guns to the ditches, and pointed them against the English.

Those in Châtillon had found means to send information to lord Shrewsbury at Bordeaux, that if he would hastily march to their relief, the French would fly: he was therefore exceedingly surprised, on his arrival, to see the manner in which the French had intrenched themselves, and how well they had posted their artillery. The commanders to oppose the English were the lords marshals, the grand master of the household, the count de Penthievre, the seneschal of Poitou, the lord de la Bessiere, sir John Bureau, and others having the conduct of the siege, besides several great lords who had taken the field against the king's enemies.

Lord Shrewsbury and his companions advanced boldly to the barriers, thinking to force an entrance into the park; but he found there such valiant opposers, who seemed eager to display their courage, as astonished him, after the intelligence he had received from those in Châtillon. The earl was mounted on a small hackney, and did

not dismount on account of his age*; but he ordered all others so to do. The English had eight banners displayed, namely, that of the king of England, of St George, of the Trinity, of the earl of Shrewsbury, and others, with the standards of the nobility skilfully arranged.

The attack commenced with great valour, and each party fought manfully, so that the business lasted a full hour,—at the end of which, the men at arms of the duke of Brittany, under the command of the lords de Montauban and de la Hunodaie, were sent for to relieve the French who had been thus long engaged at the barriers. On their arrival, by the aid of God and their own prowess, the English were forced to turn their backs, and were beaten down, with all their banners, by these Bretons. The artillery played so well that the English were constrained to fly, but not without numbers being left dead on the spot. The hackney of lord Shrewsbury was struck down by a culverin-ball, and he was

* His age. He was then 86 or 87 years old.

put to death by the French, as he lay under him*.

Among the slain were the lord l'Isle, sir Hedoual Haul, Thomas Aurigan, the lord de Pingulan, a gascon knight, and thirty of the most valiant knights, as it was said, from England. Lord Molyns was made prisoner. As the French were much fatigued, and on foot, they could not pursue the enemy, so that numbers of English and Gascons escaped; and about eight hundred or a thousand retreated into Châtillon, among

* 'He fell gloriously, together with his gallant son the lord l'Isle, who, though entreated to escape by the dying hero, chose to share his father's fate rather than quit the field†.'

Andrews' Hist. of Great Britain, A. D. 1453, 4, 5.

† 'The herald of this glorious veteran sought out the body amongst the heaps of slain, wept over it, and embraced it with these pathetic words: 'Alas! my lord, and is it you? I pray God pardon all your misdoings! I have been your officer of arms 40 years and more: it is time that I should surrender to you the ensigns of my office!'—Thus saying, with the tears gushing from his eyes, he threw his coat of arms over the corpse, thus performing one of the ancient rites of sepulture.' *Registre de Wyrkson*, apud *Anstis.*

whom were the count de Candale, son to the captal de Buch, the lords de Montferrant, de Rosem, and d'Anglades : the lord de l'Esparre escaped also, who had been the principal author of this rebellion. Those who could not enter the town fled by land or water,—but in regard to the last, they were mostly all drowned.

The count de Penthievre, the bailiff of Touraine, and several French, having at length mounted their horses, pursued the runaways as far as the walls of St Emilion*, killing all they could overtake. When the French were recovered from their fatigues, they buried the dead, consisting of four or five hundred on the side of the English. On the morrow, the french marshals ordered all their artillery to be brought to bear on the walls of Châtillon, to rejoice those within it; but when the townsmen saw these vast preparations, they began to humble themselves, and to lower the pride with which they were filled, by surrendering themselves to the king's will; they

* St Emilion,—on the Dordogne, near Libourne, six leagues from Bordeaux.

were estimated at fifteen hundred combatants: and the chief lords were constituted prisoners to the king.

CHAP. LV.

AFTER THE REDUCTION OF CHASTILLON, THE FRENCH TAKE ST EMILION AND LIBOURNE.—THE KING JOINS HIS ARMY BEFORE BORDEAUX, IN WHICH WERE GREAT NUMBERS OF ENGLISH. — THAT TOWN SURRENDERS ON CAPITULATION.

AFTER the surrender of Châtillon, the french commanders marched the army and artillery to St Emilion, the garrison of which instantly submitted, as it was impossible to make any resistance, and were mercifully received. Thence the army advanced toward Libourne, which had not willingly turned to the English when lord Shrewsbury first arrived at Bordeaux; but the french garrison, hearing of his coming, had fled: the townsmen were, therefore, forced

to submit,—and, on this account, they were admitted into favour with the king.

At this time, the count de Clermont, as lieutenant-general for the king of France in Guienne and the Bordelois, kept his army on the other side of the Gironde. He had with him the count de Foix, the count d'Albreth, the lord d'Orval his son, sir Theaulde de Valpergue bailiff of Lyon, the lord de Saintrailles master of the horse to the king, sir Bernard de Béarn, the viscount de Turenne, the lord de Lavedan, and many other captains, to the number of eight hundred lances and archers, who acted so prudently that the english forces in that country, and in Bordeaux, to the amount of eight thousand combatants, never offered them battle, nor prevented them making prisoners, or destroying convoys of provision and wine. On the 14th day of July, the counts de Clermont, de Foix, and d'Albreth, laid siege to the new castle in Medoc, and remained before it fourteen days. The governor for the king of England was a knight of Gascony, called the lord de l'Isle, who, seeing the impracticabi-

lity of defending it with success, surrendered it to these lords.

The french army was thence marched to besiege Blanquefort*; and the count de Foix, with his brother the viscount de Lautrec, separated from it to lay siege to Cadillac†, while the lord de Saintrailles went before St Macaire‡, and reduced it to the king's obedience. The lord d'Albreth likewise left the siege of Blanquefort, and reduced the towns of Langon‖ and Villendras to obedience,—so that two or three sieges were going on at the same time. To regarrison their conquests, these lords had with them about a thousand lances, and a sufficiency of archers, comprehending the men of the count d'Armagnac, under the command of an esquire called L'ainé de Lange, seneschal of Rouergue.

* Blanquefort,—a town in Guienne near Bordeaux.

† Cadillac en Fransadois,—seven leagues from Bordeaux.

‡ St Macaire,—on the Garonne, nine leagues from Bordeaux.

‖ Langon,—one league from Cadillac from Bordeaux.

During the siege of Cadillac, the count de Clermont never quitted that of Blanquefort until it had surrendered to him.

On the 16th day of July, the king left the city of Angoulême, to join his army in the Bordelois: he was accompanied by the counts of Angoulême, of Maine, of Nevers, of Estampes, of Castres, of Vendôme, and many other barons, knights and esquires, to the town of Libourne. His army was then before Fronsac, which was held by the English, who afterward surrendered it on capitulation of being allowed to go to England,—and they marched out with only staves in their hands. The army then crossed the Dordogne, to subdue the country within the two rivers, and captured many towns from the English.

The king advanced to Montferrant, and ordered a blockhouse to be erected against Lormond, near Bordeaux, by a part of his army, while another division was employed on the siege of the town and castle of Cadillac.

On the other hand, the counts de Clermont, de Foix, d'Albreth, d'Orval, and

the bailiff of Lyon, with others to the amount of one thousand lances and archers, had posted themselves near to Bordeaux, on the side of the moors, to destroy all the corn and provision, that those within Bordeaux might not reap any advantage or profit by them.

On the 12th day of July, the king, in person, led his army against Cadillàc, when it was taken by storm. The first who entered was an esquire named Gonfroy de St Hellin, bailiff of Chaumont in Bassigny, — but the English retired into the castle, which was very strong. Notwithstanding the strength of the place, the English, alarmed at the great power and good order of the king's army, which consisted of a thousand spears and a proportionate number of archers, were forced to submit. They surrendered themselves, in the month of October following, prisoners to the king, when their captain, called Gaillard, was beheaded.

In the blockhouse before Lormond were posted the lord de Lohéac marshal of France, with many other lords, knights, and captains, to the amount of fifteen or

sixteen hundred spears, archers, and artillery,—and near to it were anchored the king's fleet of victuallers from Brittany, Poitou, Spain, Holland, Zealand and Flanders, which remained in the river Gironde, until Bordeaux surrendered to the king.

In like manner had victuallers been sent from England; and on their arrival the lord Cameise* had ordered their sails and stores to be landed and secured in the town, that they might not depart *hospite insalutato*; that is to say, without taking leave of their hosts. The English also constructed another blockhouse opposite to and higher than that of the French, although it profited them little, notwithstanding so many in the town were attached to the king of England, namely, the lord Cameise, the lord Clinton, the bastard of Somerset, the lord de l'Esparre, the lord de Rosem, and from three to four thousand English, and as many or more Gascons, one half of whom were quartered in the town, and

* Camus,—or Cameise. See Dugdale.

the other half in the blockhouse, to guard their fleet.

Thus were these powers employed on the same duty in their separate blockhouses from the first day of August until the 17th of October, annoying each other by every possible means. Provision began at length to fail in Bordeaux, to the great alarm of the English, as was natural; and as they daily heard of towns in all directions submitting, by force of arms, to the king, they made offers of a surrender on a fair capitulation. The king consented, for two reasons: first, because he was ready to render good for evil: secondly, considering the mortality that was to be dreaded, if matters were pushed to extremities, he was glad to compound for the departure of the English on the following terms.

The city of Bordeaux was to be yielded up to him, and the inhabitants were to remain his true and loyal subjects,—they taking an oath never to rebel again, but to acknowledge the king of France as their true and legal lord. The English were to

be allowed to transport themselves in their own vessels to England, or to Calais, as they should please. But because some of the lords of that country and city had maliciously and traitorously sought the alliance of England, and had gone thither for that purpose, contrary to their oaths and declarations made to the king in the preceding year, who, at a very great expense and loss of men, had conquered them, the king would reserve to himself the power of banishing from the country of Bordelois twenty persons, according to his pleasure, such as had gone to England to seek the aid of the English, and particularly the lord de Duras, the lord de l'Esparre, and others. This capitulation was signed on the 17th day of October, in the year 1453.

In truth, the king laboured greatly in these matters, both in body and mind; for, after the aid of God, he was indebted for the peaceable recovery of this country to his own prudent conduct, and to the gracious manner with which he received those who returned to their obedience. He was also supported by his vassals and subjects with the same earnestness as if the recovery of

his kingdom had personally concerned themselves.

Sir Pierre de Beauveau, lord de la Bessiere, died of his wounds three days after the taking of Châtillon, which was a great loss. Sir James de Chabannes, grand master of the household, was likewise slain there: he was much lamented, as he was a most valorous knight.

The country being thus recovered, the king determined on going to Tours, after leaving, for its defence, the count de Clermont his lieutenant general, sir Theaulde de Valpergue, and sir John de Bureau, treasurer of France and mayor of the city of Bordeaux, with a sufficient force of men at arms, archers, and cross-bows. This was become absolutely necessary by reason of their late treacherous conduct, for, according to a maxim of law, 'Semul malus, semper præsumitur malus.' It was therefore expedient to keep a heavy hand on them, that they might be under greater subjection and prevented from rebelling again.

CHAP. LVI.

THE GRAND TURK BESIEGES CONSTANTINOPLE, AND BATTERS THE CITY WITH HEAVY ARTILLERY.—IT IS TAKEN BY STORM.—THE CRUELTIES COMMITTED THERE.—A REMEDY PROPOSED TO RESIST THE TURK*.

On the 4th of April, after Easter, in this same year 1453, Morbesan†, son of Orestes, great lords in Achaia, advanced near to Constantinople, and, on the 5th day of this month, besieged that city all

* M. du Cange says, that this chapter must be compared with Phrantzes.

This chapter, containing the hearsay account of transactions which took place at a considerable distance from the kingdom of France abounds, as it might be expected, with errors, the correction of which, as they occur, would be a task equally laborious and unprofitable. Whoever wishes to make himself acquainted with the details of the siege and capture of Constantinople by Mahomet II. may peruse the 68th chapter of Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

† Morbesan. Mahomet II. son to Amurath or Morad II.

round with two hundred thousand men,—sixty thousand of whom were archers, and from thirty to forty thousand cavalry. About a fourth part of them were armed with haubergeons and coats of mail, others after the french manner,—some in the bulgarian manner, and in different fashions. Many had helmets of iron, and others were armed with bows and cross-bows. The greater part, however, of the sixty thousand were without any other armour than targets and turkish blades. The remaining hundred were composed of merchants, artisans, followers of the army, pillagers, and destroyers of the country.

There were very many bombards and culverins made use of at this siege,—and one particularly large bombard, that shot stones twelve spans and four fingers in circumference, weighing eighteen hundred pounds. These bombards shot daily from one hundred to six score times,—and this thundering lasted for fifty-five days, expending a thousand weight of powder each day, which was necessary for the numerous culverins that were employed.

The Turk had likewise a fleet of six-

teen or eighteen galleys, and from sixty to eighty galiots, having each eighteen or twenty oars, and from sixteen to twenty small barks, called Palendrins*, to transport horses in, and plenty of gun-carriages. When the siege had been regularly formed, Sangombassa† principal minister to the Turk, and who had the greatest credit and authority with him, had transported over land, the distance of two or three miles, from sixty to eighty galleys, and other armed vessels, into the Melse Mondagarin‡, near to Pera, and between the two cities. The Turks could not by any other means enter the harbour of Constantinople, as the Bosphorus and the straits of the Dardanelles were strongly guarded by the Christians, who were so posted that they could relieve each other when attacked.

The commander of this expedition was a Turk called Albitangoth§, who broke through four of the genoese ships. The

* Palendrins,—Palendric,—a flat boat.——*Du Cange's Glossary.*

† Sangombassa. Q.

‡ Melse Mondagarin. Q. the sea of Marmora?

§ Albitangoth. Q.

Turk appointed another commander to surround the city by sea and land. Constantinople is a very strong city, of a triangular form, twenty miles in circuit on the land side, and five miles wide from the land boundary to the harbour and gulf. The walls on the land side are very strong and high, having barbicans and loop holes on the top, well fortified without by the ditches and ramparts. The principal walls are from fifteen to twenty-two fathoms high: in some places six, and in others eight fathoms wide: the outworks are twenty fathoms high and three in thickness, and the ditches ten deep. The city contained from twenty-five to thirty thousand persons, and six thousand combatants. In the harbour were thirty ships and nine galleys, to defend the chain that had been thrown across it: of this number were two armed vessels, and three merchant ships, from the Venetians; three belonging to the emperor,—and one to sir John Justinian, a Genoese in the pay of the emperor.

Constantinople, although besieged by sea and land, and strongly battered by bombards and cannon, held out for fifty

days, during which a captain of one of the galleys, in conjunction with others ordered on this service, attempted to set fire to the turkish fleet; but the galley was sunk by a heavy stone from a bombard, and the others ran on the sharp stakes with which the Turks had fortified the van division of their fleet.

On the land side, Sangombassa, king of the Albanians, had in his army many who had been accustomed to work in gold and silver mines,—and he ordered them to open fourteen mines under the walls of the city, to throw them down. As these mines were opened at a distance from the walls, the Christians countermined them, and at times stifled the Turks in their mine with smoke, or suffocated them with stinks: at other times they drowned them, by introducing water suddenly on them, or destroyed them by fighting hand to hand. Sangombassa constructed a high and strong tower of wood that overtopped the walls, and threw across an arm of the sea a bridge of boats one thousand fathoms in length and seven wide, for the army to cross, besides erecting other smaller towers

that were both light and strong, and could be moved from one place to another when wanted. There were daily skirmishes, in which many were slain on each side,—but for one that was killed in the town one hundred were destroyed of the besiegers.

At this siege were many greek Christians, and others from different parts, who, although subjects to the Turk, are not constrained to renounce their religion: they therefore pray to and adore God at their pleasure. There were beside several captains and powerful Turks, who, out of spite to Sangombassa, as he oppressed them much, gave information to those in the town, by letters fastened to arrows and by all other possible means, of what was going forward in the camp. Among other things, the Christians were informed of the grand Turk having held a council of his ministers and principal persons for four whole days; and that in this council a captain, called Colombassa*, had advised the raising of the siege, saying to the Turk, 'Thou hast done thy duty: thou hast already given many

* Colombassa. Q.

great battles to the Christians, and at each time numbers of thy people have fallen. Thou seest from the fortifications and defence of the city that it is impregnable,—insomuch that the more thou sendest to attack it, so many more are left dead before it. Those who have mounted the walls have been repulsed or slain,—and thy ancestors never had the power nor the inclination to advance so far as thou hast done, which ought to satisfy thy ambition, without wishing the total destruction of thy people.'

So much was said by others, in consequence of this harangue, that the Turk doubted within his own breast whether he should return, and erect two columns on the spot where he then was, to proclaim to the world that he had done more than any of his predecessors had ever undertaken, and to inform posterity that no Turk had ever before dared to approach so near to Constantinople.

Sangombassa was of a contrary opinion, and thus addressed the Turk: 'Thou hast shown thyself the strongest. Thou hast overthrown part of the walls; we will com-

pletely destroy the remainder. Only let us give one more determined attack,—and, if we then fail of conquest, we will submit to act according to thy pleasure.' He expressed himself with so much warmth and earnestness that the Turk consented to his proposal; and intelligence thereof was conveyed into the town, with exhortations to hold out with courage for a few days longer, and the siege would assuredly be raised.

The Turk, being resolved to storm the city, ordered a solemn fast to take place three days before the time fixed on, in honour of the God of Heaven, whom alone he adores. It was kept very strictly for the three days, none of the army eating any thing during the day-time; but at night they feasted, and their camp and fleet were then illuminated with a multitude of torches, so that land and sea seemed on fire: they added loud music with drums and other instruments, for with trumpets they were ill provided.

When the time arrived for the storming, both parties seemed determined on victory or death. The attack began very slowly in the evening, and the Turk had

made the following arrangement of his forces:—Siglardy*, captain-general of Turkey, was posted, with twenty thousand men, at the gate of Pucchi, where was the heat of the battle: Sangombassa, with about a third of the army, was posted at the gate St. Romain, about a mile distant from Pucchi. Ebbigabeth, governor-general of Greece, was placed on the side of Galigaria†, near to the emperor's palace. The greater part of the mines were two miles distant from St Romain. The renegade Albanian, Sangombassa, was posted on the other side of the canal near to Pera, with other renegade Christians; for, in these countries many daily recant from their religion.

At the commencement of the attack the Christians defended themselves well, particularly at St Romain, which was the weakest part of the walls; for lately good part had been damaged, and even thrown down. The heavy cannon and the culverins kept up so brisk a fire that breaches were made of many fathoms wide in several places; and the firing was so incessant that

* Siglardy. Q. † Galigaria. Q. Galata?

the sky could scarcely be seen for the thickness of the smoke.

The besieged instantly repaired the breaches with old casks and bags of earth, and defended themselves as well as they could. At this spot was sir John Justinian, who behaved with great courage: indeed, the whole city placed their dependance on his abilities.

As a last effort, the grand Turk now advanced thither in person, with two banners and ten thousand chosen men for his guard, beside an infinity of Turks, with scaling ladders, moveable wooden castles, and other engines. The attack was become very bloody: the ditches were filled, and the walls scaled. At this critical moment was sir John Justinian wounded by a ball from a culverin, and carried off to be dressed, after he had resigned his command to two genoese gentlemen. The Turks pursued their success,—and the Christians, seeing themselves overpowered, and that sir John Justinian had quitted his command, which they mistook for his having fled, abandoned the walls, and ran away. Thus did the Turks enter Constantinople, the

28th day of May, in the year aforesaid, putting all to the sword who made any resistance*.

* 'Constantinople had long been aimed at by the turkish power; but the diversions formed by Huniades and George Castriot had retarded an event, which the effeminacy and profligacy of both rulers and people had rendered inevitable. Constantine Drakoses, the last emperor, merited a better fate, if there could be a better, than dying for his country. When he found Mohammed determined to besiege his city, he raised what force he could, which amounted to no more than three or four thousand men; nor could the imperial treasury afford to continue in its pay a celebrated german engineer, who, on his stipend being lessened, went in disgust to the Turks, and cast those immense pieces of cannon which are still the wonder of the Dardanelles.

'To Giustiniani, a Genoese, who, with five hundred men, came to defend the city, Constantine gave the chief command, promising to make him prince of Lemnos if he drove off the Turks. Meanwhile the citizens sat like ideots determined to suffer the extremities of war, and expose their wives and children to violation and slaughter, rather than support an emperor who they knew wished to unite the greek with the latin church.

'Mohammed had four hundred thousand men in arms around the city; but though his fleet was large, he could not approach the walls by the harbour, and had even been witness to the success of five ships from Genoa, who had forced their way through his

No attack was made on Pera, for the greater part of the inhabitants were in Constantinople assisting in its defence. Those

numerous navy. To remedy this, he contrived by engines, and an immense strength of hands, to draw a vast detachment of galleys over a peninsula into the harbour, and then the blockade was complete. The cannoneers, too, of the Turks were instructed by an hungarian ambassador (moved by a foolish prophecy that Christendom would never thrive until Constantinople was taken,) how to do the most damage to the old and ruinous fortifications of the devoted city.

'When all was ready for an assault, Mohammed sent to offer lives, liberty, and goods, to the emperor and people, with settlements in Greece, if they would give up the place,—but in vain. The Turks were at first gallantly repulsed, Constantine defending the breach, and Giustiniani bravely seconding his efforts: unhappily the latter being seized with a panic, on receiving a slight wound, and quitting his post, the Italians, who were the strength of the besieged, followed, and the enemy burst in with hardly any opposition. The wretched emperor saw that all was lost,—and was only heard to say, 'Alas! is no Christian here to strike off my head?' A Turk performed that office; and Mohammed with his army rushing in, every bar to slaughter, rapine, and violence, gave way.

'Meanwhile numbers of the Greeks stood calmly around the church of Santa Sophia, while others coolly employed themselves in a solemn procession, deluded by a fanatic, who had foretold, that as soon as the infidels should force their way to a certain part of

who had remained did not attempt to carry away any of their effects, but deliberated to send the keys of their town to the Turk,

the city, an angel should interfere, and utterly destroy their forces; but the Turks, penetrating to the church, tied these dreamers two and two, and drove them away as slaves. After three days, Mohammed checked the course of plunder, and accepted the remaining inhabitants as subjects. To the royal family he behaved with humanity at first; but offering a cruel insult, when intoxicated, to Demetrius Leontares, (a man of high rank, great duke or admiral of the empire, and nearly allied to the throne) by sending a domestic to bring one of his children, who was remarkably beautiful, into his seraglio. The generous Greek (although he had been used to wish to see a Mussulman's turban rather than a cardinal's hat at Constantinople) resented it with such spirit that the tyrant ordered him and his whole family to be beheaded. He suffered with great resignation, professing himself happy, that by seeing his children die before him, he was certain they were not reserved for infamy.

'Thus write Calchondylas and Ducas, who were, probably both eye-witnesses to these horrors; but Cantemir affirms that the turkish historians own an agreement, by which a part of the citizens, who had been allowed an honourable capitulation, preserved some of their churches, some privileges as to religion, &c.

'The men of letters, unable to endure the government of barbarians, dispersed themselves around

and offer him the city, in which were six thousand men, and throw themselves on the mercy of God. A good many of both sexes, however, embarked on board a genoese vessel to escape, and one ship laden with women was seized by the Turks.

The emperor of Constantinople died there. Some say that he was beheaded,—others, that he was squeezed to death by the crowd as he was attempting to escape by one of the gates: both may perchance be true,—as he may have been pressed to death, and the Turks may have cut off his head afterwards.

This was a melancholy event for the

Europe, and enriched every province, but particularly Italy, with their science.

'The whimsically superstitious are fond of a silly remark, that as the western empire began and ended with an Augustus so did that of the east begin and end with a Constantine; but a much more useful speculation from the dreadful fate of this metropolis, and still more from that of Rome in 1527, presents itself to the rich and indolent citizen, viz. that opulence, far from securing its owners, only holds out a bait to the destroyer; and that no wealthy city should think itself secure without union, good government, and military exertions, among its inhabitants.'

Andrews' Hist. of Great Britain.

Christians; for after the Turks had gained peaceable possession of the city, they entered the churches, more especially the cathedral of St Sophia, which is a very large and magnificent building,—and finding it full of ladies, damsels, and others of high rank, they ravished them all without any distinction, and in contempt of God our Creator and of the catholic faith. The Turk even violated the empress in this church, made her his concubine, and carried her with him when he departed from the city. His troops indulged themselves with impunity in every luxury and detestable vice.

The large galleys of the Venetians, and from Trebisonde, waited until the middle of the ensuing day to save some of the Christians, and about four hundred embarked on board. In the number was Jacques Totaldi*, who had been on guard at a part of the wall distant from where the Turks had entered: perceiving that all was lost, he made for the shore, and by swimming saved himself on board one of these galleys

* Totaldi. Q.

Had the venetian fleet, under the command of John la Rendour*, arrived the preceding day with his troops, most assuredly the city would have been relieved, —for it consisted of nine galleys and twenty other vessels. It arrived the day after the conquest at Negropont.

It has been estimated, that the plunder the Turks made in Constantinople amounted to four thousand millions of ducats: the loss of the Venetians alone was said to be fifty thousand ducats. The Genoese saved on board their galleys twenty thousand: the Florentines lost twenty thousand,—the merchants of Ancona fifteen thousand. From conversations with different Turks, we have heard that the grand Turk, when only twenty-three or twenty-four years old, was more cruel than Nero, and delighted in shedding blood: he was bold and ambitious, and more ardent to conquer the world than Alexander or Cæsar. It is al-

* John la Rendour. Q. Giacopo Loredan? He sailed from Venice with only five galleys, and was to take up five more in the ports of Dalmatia and Candia.

Storia della Repubblica di Venezia.—Laugier.—Tom. vii. p. 63.

leged that he possesses larger territories, and greater power, than any other monarch whatever. He has different histories read out to him,—and demands the reason why such and such things have been done. He holds it an easy matter to throw a bridge from Megara* to Venice, for a passage to march his army thither. He inquires where Rome is situated,—and after the duke of Milan, of his valiant deeds, and other affairs. He can talk of nothing but war; and delares that he will make Constantinople his seat of empire, for that he is able and desirous to establish a large navy. He imagines that there is not a prince on earth but will bring him the keys of his towns before he calls for them, considering that he has taken by storm Constantinople, the strongest city in Europe, and so powerful that it was thought no army, however great, could accomplish it, and that he and his troops are bold in arms, holding their lives of no value to gain an object. It is supposed that the Turk will not this sum-

* Megara. This must be a mistake: indeed, the whole chapter is exceedingly confused.

ther attempt any other warlike enterprise, but attend to his new settlement in Constantinople, unless some places he may wish for should surrender quietly. His soldiers want to return to their homes to enjoy and repose themselves, but he keeps them strictly to good discipline, that he may be prepared to resist any attacks that shall be made upon him. However, if the Christians would firmly unite, and act promptly, they would drive him out of Europe, never to return again.

This would be the plan I would offer for so desirable an object: First, an universal peace must be established in Christendom; then the Venetians, the duke of Milan, the Florentines, and the other princes of Italy, should raise an army of twenty thousand horse, well appointed, and under able captains, who should lead them to Pera, through Albania, as far as the possessions of the Christians, where they should halt in a country well supplied with all kinds of provision. They will be there secure, and instantly joined by the Albanians, Sclavonians, and other Christian na-

tions, who will unite in the defence of the catholic faith.

In addition to this army, another should be formed at sea by the king of Arragon, the Venetians, the Genoese, the Florentines, and other maritime nations, whose fleets will be fully sufficient to conquer that of the Turk if it be not greatly increased to what it is at present. This fleet should sail for the port of Negropont, and take Sagripoch*, and other places, from the Turk: it should likewise blockade the passage of the Dardanelles, and prevent any intercourse between Turkey and Greece.

The emperor of Hungary, the Bohemians, the Poles, the Walachians, and other nations in that quarter, should raise an army under the command of John Waiwoda†, who is much feared by the Turks, and enter Turkey by Adrianople; and all these armies should so manage that their invasions take place at the same time, and that good intelligence reign among them that the success may not be doubtful.

The Turk, with all his efforts, cannot

* Sagripoch. Q. † John Waiwoda. Q.

raise a greater army than two hundred thousand men, including bad and good; and it must be added, that among the number are many Christians, and others of his subjects, that follow him unwillingly, who on the approach of a sufficient army of Christians will desert and join them.

The Turks, by nature and custom, will not wait to be besieged, but continually keep the field, which will the more easily encourage desertions. The Christians from Russia must join this division of the united forces.

The Caramanian, who is a great prince, and a bitter enemy to the Turks, should he be informed of this intended warfare against the Turk, he will harrass him much, and, with some inducements, may probably become a Christian. In Greece, there will not be a common peasant but will exert himself to bring provisions to the Christian army. On the other hand, the Turks will be straitened for provision, as their resources from Greece will be cut off by sea; and it may be supposed that the Greeks will be anxious to recover their lands by the sword, —and the moment that the two armies

shall approach Turkey, the whole of the unbelievers' army must be nearly famished and defeated.

Should the Christians, however, delay their exertions, and allow the Turk time to strengthen himself by sea and land, there can be no doubt but that he will cause great damage to the Christians, which God forbid!

In the venetian galley, eight citizens of Venice returned, who had been settled at Constantinople; but thirty-eight gentlemen and forty others remained behind. May God speedily assist them in their deliverance.

CHAP. LVII.

THE TURK SENDS LETTERS TO THE POPE, WHO, IN CONSEQUENCE, WISHES TO FORM A CROISADE AGAINST HIM.—LE BLANC*, KNIGHT-MARSAL OF HUNGARY, DEFEATS THE TURKS NEAR THE FORT OF SAMBRINE†.

THE grand Turk, moved by presumption at his unexpected success and prosperity, and through his great pride, sent two letters to pope Nicholas, of similar contents, —the one in Latin, the other in French. The tenour of the last was as follows: 'Morbesan lord of Achaia, son to Orestes, with his brothers,—to the high priest of Rome, health, according to his deserts. Whereas it has lately come to our ears that, at the request and prayers of the people of Venice, you have publicly preached in your churches, that whoever shall take up arms against us shall receive in this life a remission of his sins, with a

* Q. Le Blanc?

† Q. 'Le Port de Sambrine?'

promise of life eternal hereafter. This we did not hear of until the arrival of some pilgrims, who have crossed the sea in venetian vessels,—and it has caused in us the utmost astonishment. Although you may perhaps have received powers from the God of thunders to absolve and release souls, so much the more prudently and discreetly should you exercise this power, nor by such means induce the Christians to act hostilely against us, and more especially the Italians; for we have lately had information that our fathers have declared the turkish nation was innocent of the death of your CHRIST crucified,—and that they neither possess nor have any knowledge of those places which are by you held sacred, and that we have always had the jewish nation in hatred, who, from what we have read in histories and chronicles, did most treacherously betray and deliver up the CHRIST to the roman judge in Jerusalem, to suffer death on the cross.

'We marvel, therefore, and grieve, that the Italians should be our enemies, —for we are naturally inclined to be attached to them, as being, like to ourselves, of the issue of the trojan race, and

of ancient birth. We are sprung from the same blood, and regularly descended from king Priam and his line; and it is our intention to advance with our armies to those parts of Europe that have been promised to us by the gods of our forefathers. We have also the intention of restoring Troy the great, and to avenge the blood of Hector and the queen Ixion*, by subjecting to our government the empire of Greece and punishing the descendants of the transgressors. We also intend subjugating the island of Crete, and the others in that sea, of which the Venetians have robbed us by violence.

'We require, therefore, that you act with more discretion, and that you impose silence on your preachers in Italy, that they may no longer comply with the requests before mentioned of these Venetians, and provoke the Christians to wage war against us, as we have no cause of warfare against them from any difference in our creeds. It is of no importance that we do not put our whole faith in your

* Hecuba.

CHRIST, since we allow him to have been a very great prophet; and as we do not follow his law, we are not to be compelled to believe in him.

'If any dispute has arisen between us and the Venetians, it is without colour of justice, or of authority from Cæsar or from any other prince. Through their pride and ambition, they have possessed themselves of many islands and other places that formed part of our government,—which usurpations we cannot and will not longer suffer, for the time of repossession is near at hand.

'For these and other reasons you ought therefore to be silent, and desist from your enterprises, especially as we know the Venetians to be a distinct people, in their manners and laws, from the Romans, although they think themselves superior to all the world; but, by the aid of our great god Jupiter, we will bring their pride and insolence to an end. Should you not prudently desist from your intentions, we shall march our whole force against you, aided by the numberless kings of the east, who seem now to be slumber-

ing; and we will bring an irresistible force by sea and land, not only against you and your walking pilgrims bearing the cross, but also against Germany and France, should you excite them to war upon us.

'With the aid of Neptune, god of the sea, we intend to cross the Hellespont, into Dalmatia, with numberless armies, and to visit the northern regions as far as Thrace.'

'Given at our triumphal palace in June, in the 840th year of Mohammed, sealed and enregistered.'

About this time, the chevalier le Blanc, who was not of a noble family, but originally a smith in Hungary, before he commenced captain in the wars under the king of Hungary, took the field to combat the Turks, having with him from twenty to twenty-four thousand combatants, and had gained the port of Sambrine, where were full eighty thousand Turks. They had waited at this port fifteen days, to see if any reinforcements would arrive, which coming to the knowledge of the knight,

he departed from Mortune*, and came up with the Turks two hours before day-break, and attacked them with such courage that twenty-four thousand were slain: the rest fled to their shipping and escaped, —for the Hungarians had no vessels to pursue them. The Turks, however, fought valiantly,—and the knight with many of his companions were wounded. He returned back with fifty Turks his prisoners: six of whom he sent to pope Nicholas: six to the king of France, and six to the duke of Burgundy. In the number was the first cousin of the grand Turk.

* Mortune. Q.

CHAP. LVIII.

JUDGMENT GIVEN AGAINST JACQUES COEUR AND THE DAMSEL OF MORTAIGNE.—MASTER WILLIAM EDELIN, DOCTOR OF DIVINITY, IS PUBLICLY REPRIMANDED AT EVREUX.

On the 29th of May, in the year 1453, judgment was pronounced by the chancellor of France, in the presence of the king, against Jacques Coeur, for the crimes he had been charged with, and for which he had been imprisoned.

In consequence of the charges made out against him, he was condemned to death and confiscation of effects; but as the king inclined to mercy, and would rather sinners should repent than die, out of his especial grace, he remitted the first part of the sentence, on condition that he redeemed, at any price, the Christian whom he had restored to the Saracens,—or if that could not be done, then he was to redeem some other Christian slave from their power.

In regard to the money which he had unjustly wrung from the king's subjects, to the amount of incalculable sums, he was adjudged to repay one hundred thousand crowns; and for the many and various offences that he had committed against the king, he was sentenced to pay a fine of four hundred thousand crowns, and the overplus of his effects, wheresoever they might be placed, was confiscated to the crown. He was also deprived of his offices, both public and private, and declared incapable of ever again holding them, and was likewise banished France.

He was also adjudged to make *amende honorable** to the king, in the person of his attorney, bareheaded and ungirdled, having a lighted link of ten pounds weight in his hands; and he was to declare, that

* *Amende honorable*,—'A most ignominious punishment inflicted on great offenders, who were led through the streets barefooted and bareheaded (with a burning link in their hands) unto the seat of justice, or some public place, and there to confess their offences, and ask forgiveness of the party they had wronged.'——COTGRAVE.

he had falsely and disloyally restored the Christian to the Saracens, and supplied them with arms and ammunition, requesting pardon from God, from the king, and from Justice.

It was also declared, that the bonds of the lords de la Fayette and de Cadillac were void, and of none effect; and that neither Jacques Coeur nor any of his heirs should receive any advantage from them, as they were now annulled.

When the chancellor had passed this sentence, he added, by command of the king, that his majesty reserved to himself the ultimate decision of the banishment and other graces.

In regard to the damsel of Mortaigne, although her body and effects had been condemned, yet in consideration of the great services which her ancestors and husband had rendered the king, his majesty remits the capital part of the sentence, and restores to her the effects that had been confiscated; but she is strictly forbidden, on pain of suffering the above penalties, to approach, within two leagues, the persons of the king or queen,—and is likewise

condemned to make *amende honorable* to the king, by proxy in her attorney, who is to declare that she had falsely and wickedly accused Jacques Coeur, Jacques Colone, and Martin Prendoux, and to ask pardon for the same of God, the king, and Justice. She was condemned to pay to the said Martin the sum of four hundred livres of the current coin; and to the wife and two daughters of Jacques Colone, one hundred livres each, amounting to three hundred livres more.

On the Sunday preceding Christmas-day in this year, master Guillaume Edelin, doctor of divinity, prior of St Germain en Laye, formerly a monk of the order of St Augustin, and of other orders, was publicly reprimanded on a scaffold in the city of Evreux, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the prisons of the bishoprick, for having given himself up to the temptations and power of the enemy of mankind, that he might accomplish his carnal desires. He was particularly charged with cohabiting with a lady of birth, and, to accomplish this, had bound himself in such servitude to Satan that he was obliged

to attend him whenever called upon by him. When such meetings were appointed he had only to bestride a broom, and was instantly transported to their consistorial meeting.

Master Guillaume frankly confessed that he had done homage to the enemy, under the form of a sheep, by kissing his posteriors, — and that he had persevered for many years in this damnable debasement, and had been aided by the enemy whenever he required it of him, until the time of his arrest; when, having been duly convicted by the law, he was detained prisoner, and the power of the enemy was without effect. He therefore remained, according to his sentence, closely confined in a dungeon, fed on bread and water. The inquisitor of the faith frequently remonstrated with him on the degeneracy of his conduct from what it was formerly, when he went about preaching so well to the people the faith of JESUS CHRIST.

During the reprimands of the inquisitor, the prisoner was placed on a

scaffold, in the presence of great crowds of people.

At the end of these remonstrances, master Guillaume, knowing how infamously he had relinquished our Creator and Redeemer, began to groan and repent aloud of his sins, asking mercy of God, the bishop, and Justice, and recommending himself to the prayers of the audience. He was then chained, and conducted to his dungeon to do penance for the horrible sins he had committed.

[A. D. 1454.]

CHAP. LIX.

THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS AN EMBASSY TO THE KING OF SPAIN.—HE BUILDS TWO CASTLES AT BORDEAUX TO KEEP THE INHABITANTS IN SUBJECTION.—THE DUKE OF YORK IMPRISONS THE DUKES OF SOMERSET AND GLOCESTER.—OTHER EVENTS.

In the year 1454, the reverend father in God master John Bernard, archbishop of Tours, and sir Guillot Destan, knight, seneschal of Rouergue, set out on an embassy from the king of France to the king of Castille, to confirm the alliances between France and Spain.

In this same year, the king of France sent a large body of men at arms and franc archers to Bordeaux, with orders to erect two castles to keep that people under better subjection: one was placed on the bank of the river, and the other at the opposite end of the town toward Béarn.

The count de Clermont, the lord de Saintrailles bailiff of Lyon, the governor of la Rochelle, sir John Bureau mayor of Bordeaux, and sir Guichart le Boursier, were appointed to superintend the erection of these castles. They exerted great diligence to complete them, — and they were so strong that they were thought impregnable, so that the inhabitants were kept in more subjection than they had ever before been.

At this time, the duke of York seized the government of England, and imprisoned the dukes of Somerset and Glocester*,—the first in the tower of London, and Glocester in Pomfret-castle.

In this year also, the count de Charolois, son to the duke of Burgundy married the daughter of duke Charles of Bourbon.

The king of Spain deceased, at the age of fifty years. It was a pity, for he was a good, wise, and handsome prince.

* There must be a mistake here: the duke of York did imprison Somerset, but Glocester was a Yorkist.

In this same year died pope Nicholas, who was but in his prime*; and it was found, when the physicians opened his body, that he had been poisoned. Pope Calixtus was chosen in his stead.†

The king of England called a meeting of some of his lords in the month of February, and remonstrated with them on the imprisonment of the dukes of Somerset and Glocester, his relatives, and wished that, if they were not too heavily charged with high treason, they might be released. They consented to this; and the mayor of London even said, that he would instantly deliver them from prison, on receiving good security for their reappearance. Soon after, these lords appeared before the tower in great force, and took therefrom the duke of Somerset, who soon after gained the complete government of the king. The duke of

* Pope Nicholas was said to have died of grief for the capture of Constantinople. He had reigned eight years nineteen days.

† Alfonso Borgio, cardinal-bishop of Valencia in Spain, his native country. He took the title of Calixtus III.

York, seeing this, and dreading the effects of Somerset's anger, left the court as secretly as he could, and retired into his duchy.

About this time, the lord de l'Esparre was arrested, for having, contrary to his oath, gone to England, and induced king Henry to send over troops to reconquer the Bordelois. Although his treason had been manifest, nevertheless the king, at the last capture of Bordeaux, being alway full of mercy, had pardoned him, on condition of his being banished Guienne and the Bordelois. However, by the instigation of the devil in hell, he had attempted, under colour of a passport, to restore those countries to the English, as a more false and wicked traitor than before. But as the Scripture says, that every thing wicked, however secretly done, is at length discovered and punished, so this came to the king's knowledge, and, as I have said, he was arrested and carried prisoner to Poitiers, where, on being tortured, he confessed his guilt, and was judicially condemned. He was then delivered to the executioner, who smote off

his head and quartered his body, which was hung up at different places, as is usual in such cases, to serve for an example to all others.

CHAP. LX.

THE MARRIAGE OF THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS WITH THE LADY ISABELLA OF BOURBON. — THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY RETURNS FROM GERMANY, AND IS MOST HONOURABLY RECEIVED IN THE TOWNS OF LILLE AND ARRAS.

On the last day of October, in this same year, and when the duke of Burgundy was returned from Germany, his son, the count de Charolois, espoused, in the town of Lille, his cousin-german the lady Isabella of Bourbon, by dispensations from the holy church, on account of their nearness of kindred. The duke, being in Burgundy, was not present at the wedding, but the duchess was. The marriage was so sudden that many said the count knew

nothing of it until the preceding day: his father would have it so, and strictly ordered him to comply, which he did like a good and obedient son. Some said, that it was against his conscience to marry so near a relative; but others, that he would rather have married the daughter of the duke of York, and, by this alliance with England, have some claim to that crown.

Whatever truth may be in these reports, he married to please his father, and behaved to his cousin in so honourable a manner that no married couple could behave better; and it was currently said, that after his marriage, he knew not any other woman.

During the absence of his father in Germany, he had the regency of his states, and governed them with equity: he was only too prompt to believe the first reports that were made to him, which is a misfortune generally attached to great lords.

About the middle of February, the noble duke of Burgundy came to Lille, where he was received by his subjects with every honour. On the 24th of the same

month, he went to Arras, where he was likewise honourably and joyfully received, —for he had been long absent, and God had now permitted him to return from Germany in good health, and without any hinderance.

CHAP. LXI.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY LAYS HEAVY TAXES ON HIS ESTATES, TO DEFRAY HIS EXPEDITION AGAINST THE TURKS.

FIVE days after the arrival of the duke in Arras, and when the feasts of his coming were over, he assembled the three estates of Artois, and declared to them the vow he had made of undertaking a war against the Turks, and of marching thither in person with his whole force, provided the king his lord would promise to keep and guard for him his estates during his absence. To accomplish this vow, he said, that it would be necessary for him to call for the aid of his good vassals and subjects; and

he required that they would grant him supplies, amounting, in the whole, to the sum of fifty-six thousand francs, royal money.

The three estates having consulted together, agreed to grant him three aides, instead of four, which he had demanded, amounting to forty-two thousand francs,—but on condition, that if this expedition was not undertaken, they should not be paid. The good duke replied, that in truth, if the expedition failed, he should not want any thing.

The duke then visited Flanders, Hainault, and Brabant, where he made similar requests; and those countries granted him very great supplies to carry on the war against the infidels.

[A. D. 1455.]

CHAP. LXII.

THE BISHOP OF UTRECHT DIES.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY GOES TO HOLLAND TO PROCURE THE ELECTION TO THE BISHOPRICK FOR HIS BASTARD SON DAVID, THEN BISHOP OF THEROUENNE.

In the year 1455, died the bishop of Utrecht, which is in Holland, bordering on Germany. Duke Philip of Burgundy had for a long time thought of obtaining this bishoprick for his bastard son David, then bishop of Therouenne, and had even during the life-time of the late bishop solicited the canons to elect this his son on the first vacancy. They, however, paid no attention to his solicitations, but elected the provost of their church, brother to the lord de Brederode, a great baron in Holland, and a relative to duke Philip.

The duke was much dissatisfied at this conduct, and sent to Rome, and managed

so well with the pope that he gave this bishoprick to his bastard son: he had even promised him the succession before the death of the last bishop. The duke went, therefore, to the Hague in Holland, where he endeavoured, but in vain, to gain over to his interest the chapter of Utrecht by every kind means, that they might receive his son for their bishop; and for this purpose he remained in Holland from the feast of St Remy*, in the year 1455, until St John Baptist's day in the ensuing year.

* St Remy. This feast is on the first day of October, and St John's the 24th June.

CHAP. LXIII.

THE COUNT DE CLERMONT, THE LORD DE LOHÉAC MARSHAL OF FRANCE, AND OTHER CAPTAINS, ARREST THE COUNT D'ARMAGNAC, AND DELIVER HIM UP TO THE KING.—THEY PUT THE ARCHBISHOP OF AUCH IN POSSESSION OF HIS ARCHBISHOPRIC.—OTHER EVENTS.

In the month of May of this year, the king of France sent the count de Clermont, the lord de Lohéac marshal of France, and other captains, into the county of Armagnac; and likewise the count de Dammartin, the bailiff of Evreux, and several others, against the count d'Armagnac, into Rouergue, because he had refused to put the archbishop of Auch in possession of his archbishopric, to which he had been duly elected, and had received his bulls from the pope. The count had wished, contrary to all right, to place therein one called de l'Estin, and had given him admittance into the city, and possession of the archbi-

shopric, contrary to the will and orders of the king.

The king, much angered at de l'Estin having been installed by the count by force, ordered his men at arms to besiege his city of Lectoure*, whither the before-named captains had marched, as well as into other parts of his possessions in Armagnac and Rouergue. Thus did the count lose all his territories for his rebellion against the king; for, as the Scripture saith, it is hard to kick against the pricks. When this was done, these captains returned to the king according to his orders.

In this same year, king Henry of England, by the advice of the duke of Somerset, summoned a parliament of his great lords, to consider the present state of affairs. For this purpose, very many came to London; and the duke of York thought it would be advisable for him to make his appearance also,—and in fact he set out, accompanied by about a thousand armed retainers. He was, however, joined on his

* Lectoure,—a city in Armagnac, of which Auch is the capital, ten leagues from Auch.

road by four or five thousand more, of which the king and the duke of Somerset were ignorant, they having knowledge of the duke being attended by only one thousand men. The king and the duke of Somerset held a council with the earl of Northumberland, and other lords, and determined to collect as large a force as they could in and about London, and march out to meet the duke of York, in the expectation of defeating him, as they were astonished he should come in arms to attend the parliament.

The two armies soon met, and instantly came to blows, when numbers were slain,—but victory remained with the duke of York. Among the slain were the duke of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, and many other lords, and from four to five hundred common men. The king was wounded by an arrow in the neck, and was for some time in great danger. The duke of York made many prisoners, nobles and others, whom he led to London with the king,—where some were set at liberty, and others punished according to their deserts. The late government was entirely

overthrown, and the whole power remained with the duke of York as regent of the king and kingdom.

At this time, the count d'Armagnac, having lost all his possessions, retired into the kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon.

[A. D. 1456.]

CHAP. LXIV.

THE KING OF FRANCE IS DISCONTENTED WITH THE DAUPHIN, FOR GOING TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY WITHOUT HIS CONSENT.—POPE CALIXTUS MAKES REGULATIONS RESPECTING THE CROISADE AGAINST THE TURKS.

In the year 1456, the king of France, learning that his eldest son had left Dauphiny, and gone to the territories of the duke of Burgundy to consult with him, was very much displeased that he should have done this without previously informing him thereof. And because he doubted his

being led away by bad advice, and acting imprudently, he determined to take possession of Dauphiny, to avoid the inconveniences that might ensue, and also to reduce him to that obedience a son owes a father.

In consequence, he marched a powerful army into Dauphiny, and took full possession of all its rents and revenues, together with the castles and strong holds, to prevent his son from receiving any advantages from them, and to induce him the more speedily to return. The king sent also men at arms to guard the passages at Pontoise, Compiégne, in Brie, and other parts, and forbade the great towns to admit the dauphin or any of his partisans, unless they should be forced thereto. He did all this, from his opinion how headstrong and obstinate the dauphin was: as a convincing proof of which, when he left the king, he had asked leave to be absent only four months, and had remained nearly ten years, to the great vexation of his father.

About this time, pope Calixtus III. made certain regulations respecting a croisade, and issued indulgences to all who

should carry into execution the contents of the bulls that had been published by him, and had been promulgated by different preachers throughout Christendom.

Certain proposals were now sent by the duke of Burgundy to the king of France respecting the dauphin, and were laid before him by the duke's ambassadors.

In this season, the Hungarians made a great destruction of the infidels in Hungary, by the counsel of sir John Capestrian*, an ancient disciple of St Bernard, in conjunction with the aid of a wise and valiant knight called sir Guillaume Blanc†. By their means, the Turks, who were very

* Sir John Capestrian. John Capistrian, a celebrated franciscan monk. Nicholas V. made him apostolic commissary in Hungary. He was greatly successful in assembling the army, which, under the command of the great Huniades, raised the siege of Belgrade in 1456. He died three months after. He was canonised, in 1690, by Alexander VIII.—See Aikin's General Biography, Moreri, &c.

† Sir Guillaume Blanc. I should suppose this must be meant for John Corvin Huniades,—the greatest captain of the age, and the bitterest enemy of the Turks. See more of him in the biographical works above mentioned.

numerous in Belgrade, were driven out of that city, and more than fifteen thousand were slain: indeed, none escaped being put to death. On the morrow, great armies of Turks advanced, and were valiantly fought with by the Christians, who again gained the victory, and slew one hundred thousand Turks between sunrise and sunset.

The soldan of Persia*, commander in chief of the Turks, was there in person; and seeing the discomfiture of his army, he fled with a few of his men to a city called Boibe†, and thence into Greece. The chevalier Blanc pursued him, and won the city of Boibe, putting to death two thousand Turks; and by the aid of God, following up their success, the Christians won very many towns and strong castles, namely, the city of Bastiliance, Ulgaria, Fastigia, Emere, and a very handsome town called Angasta‡: in the latter, fifteen thousand Turks were destroyed. The Christians lost, at this last attack, five thousand

* The soldan of Persia. A mistake. It was Mohammed II. who was wounded at this battle.

† Boibe. Q.

‡ Bastiliance, Ulgaria, Fastigia, Emere, Angasta. Q.

men, whom may God receive in paradise! 'Quia dignus operarius mercede sua.'

The Christians afterwards gained St Vincent*, and the town and castle of Valence†; and as they proceeded, the inhabitants were converted to the Christian faith. They continued successful, and won the town and castle of Flagis and Gaunaldalo, and Porrus, Stavengier and Chastouen‡, where four thousand Turks were put to death, with the loss of one hundred Christians, whose souls may God pardon! The Christians now entered Greece with a large army, and conquered a great city called Glotuase§, where they slew ten thousand infidels.

They then left behind them all walled towns, and advanced to the province of Culdée‖, which is near to Constantinople, having gained possession of the greater part of the lands in Greece, and to the westward of it, and also of the cities of

* St Vincent. Q. † Valence. Q.

‡ Flagis, Gaunaldalo, Porrus, Stavengier, Chastouen. Q.

§ Glotuase. Q. ‖ Culdée. Q.

Latheris and Glamus*, with many other castles and towns.

The Turks that had been slain in these different battles were estimated at two hundred thousand, with the loss of eight score cities and walled towns, four hundred castles, great and small. These victories have been thus detailed for insertion in the chronicles of the times, and asserted for truth on the holy evangelists, on the oath of their priesthood, by the following venerable persons, namely, sir John Valate, priest; sir Patrick Tournaille, priest also, and Andrew Valate, a layman,—all three inhabiting the diocese of Umblanum in Dacia.

The chevalier Blanc was grievously wounded by a lance in the last battle, so that he was constrained to retire into the city of Angasta, where he died. God have mercy on his soul! he being well deserving thereof. In like manner was the Turk severely wounded, and forced to withdraw to Constantinople, where he remained for a long time very ill.

These three persons having been in-

* Latheris, Glamus. Q.

terrogated by the chronicler of France on their oaths, how they knew what they had told to be true, deposed, that they had been personally present in arms at all these battles and sieges, and had fought at them, and, in consideration of the very great perils they had escaped from, had vowed to make pilgrimages to the shrine of St Denis, and to other places, which they intended to fulfil before they returned to their own country. They appeared to be well affected to the Christian faith. They said, that the Turk, when recovered, left Constantinople for Asia.

On Saturday, the 4th day of December in this year, and about three hours before day, such an earthquake happened at Naples, in Puglia, and Calabria, as the oldest persons did not remember to have seen, from which great and numberless evils ensued,—a few of which shall be mentioned. In the first place, the small city of Ariano*, in the kingdom of Naples, was

* Ariano,—in the Principato Ultra of Naples. It never recovered the desolation caused by an earthquake 1456. Another more destructive happened in 1732.—*Crutwell's Gazetteer.*

so completely destroyed that eight thousand persons perished. Another city called Padula* was destroyed, with its three thousand inhabitants, for not one escaped. Item, another town, called Bouchery†, was overwhelmed,—and no one who had not seen these places before this unfortunate event would have supposed they could have existed, so thoroughly changed was the whole face of the country.

One half of the town of Troia‡ was thrown down, and many people perished. The greater part of the castle of Canosa§ fell, with some of the town. The cities of Ascoli‖ and Santa Agatha¶ shared the same fate, as did the castle of Arpi** and several others.

* Padula,—a town of Naples, in the Principato Citra.

† Bouchery. Q. Bocchianico? a town of Naples in Abruzzo Citra.

‡ Troia.—a town of Naples in the Capitinata.

§ Canosa,—a town in the country of Bari. It was destroyed by an earthquake in 1694.

‖ Ascoli,—in the Capitinata.

¶ Santa Agatha,—in the Principato Ultra.

** Arpi,—in the Capitinata.

In the country of Molise*, the cities of Campo Basso†, Laurentino‡, the castle of St Julian§, Macona‖, the castles of St Lou¶, Castine**, and La Rippe††, were swallowed up by the earthquake, and many lands near to Altavilla‡‡, when upwards of twenty-eight thousand persons perished. The city of Naples suffered some damage, but more in the churches than in the other buildings. The earthquake lasted for three days, and in some places more, namely, from the 4th of the month until the 7th inclusive; when, as reported by men of truth, more than one hundred thousand persons of both sexes were destroyed.

This earthquake ruined in one night the castles of Sanguine§§, Presole‖‖, and la

* Molise,—a country of Naples.

† Campo Basso is the capital.

‡ Laurentino. Q.

§ St Julian. St Guiliano in Molise.

‖ Macona. Q. Ancona?

¶ St Lou. St Lotiero in the Principato Ultra.

** Castine,—Castigluini, Principato Ultra.

†† La Rippe. Ripa Limasara in Molise.

‡‡ Altavilla,—in the Principato Citra, 17 miles from Salerno.

§§ Sanguine. Q.

‖‖ Presole. Q. Presciano. Principato Citra.

Roche Capoa*, where neither walls nor houses were left standing. One half of the city of Sermone† and the castle of Oliveto‡ were destroyed: in which last five hundred persons were killed, and in the castle of Pesolo§ six hundred. In like manner, when the castle of Thoco‖ was overthrown, its lord and all within perished. This accident ruined also part of the port of Ancona, and such damages were done to the buildings of Capua¶, Aversa**, and Benevento††, and to the castle of Lusano‡‡, as would have been incredible but to those who saw it.

The account of this unfortunate disaster was sent in writing to the marquis of Ferrara by his brother Hercules§§, then

* La Roche de Capoa. Q. Rocca de Minolfa, Molise.

† Sermone. Q.

‡ Oliveto. Q.

§ Pesolo. Pesola is a lake in the Basilicata.

‖ Thoco. Q.

¶ Capua,—fifteen miles from Naples.

** Aversa,—ten miles north from Naples.

†† Benevento,—in the Principato Ultra.

‡‡ Lusano. Q.

§§ Borso d'Este, marquis of Ferrara, was succeeded by his legitimate brother Hercules d'Este.

in the kingdom of Naples with the king of Arragon, and written at Rougia*, the 7th day of December, in the year 1456.

On the first day of this same year, while the king of France was at St Prier, near to Lyon, Otho Castellan, a Florentine and treasurer of the king's household, was arrested on the bridge at Lyon by the provost of the palace, from informations the king had received that the said Otho had formed certain devices prejudicial to his personal safety. He had made certain images that, by diabolical arts, would assure him the government of the king, and cause him to do whatever the said Otho should please. Guillaume Gouffier was his accomplice, and was long detained in prison to obtain from him the truth of these charges. Otho was carried prisoner before the parliament of Tholouse, where he had long acted as the king's treasurer; and Gouffier was sent to Tours. In the ensuing year, Otho was condemned by the chancellor to banishment and confiscation of his effects; but the king pardoned

* Rougia. Q. Reggio? a seaport of Naples in Calabria Ultra.

him, so that he only lost the places he had held, and was banished to twenty leagues distant from wherever the king should be, and was compelled to pay a fine of a thousand crowns for the expenses of his suit. But Otho was then accused of sodomy, and brought back to Tours for trial, and thence sent to Paris, as it was said that he had appealed to the parliament; but I cannot say how this matter ended, for he was transported from one prison to another, so that I am ignorant of the conclusion.

This was a great year of rain. The duke and duchess of Savoy came this year to the king of France and the prince of Piedmont, eldest son to the duke, was married to Yolande, daughter to the king of France.

An embassy now arrived in France from Spain, to confirm the alliances between the two kingdoms; and at the same time, the prince of Navarre came to demand from the king the duchy of Nemours, —and also the cardinal of Avignon from Brittany, on his return from canonising St Vincent at Vannes. Shortly after, the cardinal waited on the king, to require a

tenth from the clergy of his realm, to carry on the war, as he said, against the Turks.

CHAP. LXV.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, WITH A LARGE ARMY, ESCORTS HIS BASTARD SON INTO HOLLAND, AND PUTS HIM IN PEACEABLE POSSESSION OF THE BISHOPRICK OF UTRECHT.—HE BESIEGES DEVENTER*, AND FORCES ITS INHABITANTS TO OBEY THE NEW BISHOP, WHICH THEY HAD BEFORE REFUSED.

When duke Philip saw that he could not prevail by love and entreaties to make his son be accepted for bishop by the chapter of Utrecht, he sent to Picardy and Hainault for a body of troops, and he was soon joined by full thirteen thousand combatants. The chapter now changed their tone, and admitted his son as their bishop, under certain conditions, namely, that the brother of the lord de Brederode, who had been

* Deventer,—on the Issel, the capital of Overissel.

elected, should receive for his life an annual pension, from the bishoprick of Utrecht, of four thousand francs, from the bishoprick of Therouenne two thousand francs,—and, for the expenses he had been put to, fifty thousand lyons once paid. He was also to be made first counsellor to the duke in the affairs of Holland, with a salary of a thousand florins of the Rhine. In consideration of this arrangement, he resigned the bishoprick, which was commonly said to be worth yearly fifty thousand mailles of the Rhine.

When this had been settled, duke Philip entered Utrecht, with his company on the 5th of August, and was most honourably received. On the morrow, his son entered in arms, grandly accompanied; and on the Sunday following, he said mass in the cathedral.

Soon after, the duke left Utrecht, with his whole army, to besiege a considerable town in the diocese, called Deventer, because it had refused to acknowledge the new bishop. Those of the town sallied out against him; and a smart skirmish ensued, in which many were

killed on both sides. In the end, they were repulsed and driven back into the town; and on the fourth day, a strong bulwark they had erected in front of the gate was so much battered with cannon that those within, foreseeing it must be taken, set in on fire, and burnt it during the night. The siege, however, lasted until the end of September, when the townsmen sent offers to the duke to obey the bishop, as the other towns within his diocese had done.

While this treaty was carrying on, the duke of Gueldres, who had married the niece of duke Philip, by whom he had a fair son about sixteen years of age, after having promised his aid to the duke of Burgundy, quitted his country, and abandoned his places, — but nevertheless made an hasty alliance with the Frizelanders, when they assembled a great army with the intent of overthrowing duke Philip.

The duke of Burgundy would have remained in perfect ignorance of this treachery, had not his niece been told of the wicked designs of her husband against her

uncle; and instantly quitting the place she was in with her son, attended by her servants, she hastened to the duke, then besieging Deventer, and told him of the plots against him. This caused the duke to lose no time in closing with the offers of those in Deventer, so that the treaty was immediately concluded, and hostages were given for its performance. The duke raised the siege the 27th day of September, and returned to Utrecht, and thence to the Hague, where he disbanded his army, leaving his son David in peaceable possession of the bishoprick of Utrecht.

He was under great obligations to his niece for the information she had given him; for if he had remained two days longer at the siege, he would have been attacked by the duke of Gueldres and the Frizelanders before he knew any thing of their intentions, and it would probably have been unfortunate to him by reason of his being totally unprepared to receive them.

The duke of Gueldres was much reproached for this conduct, considering that he had married the duke of Burgundy's

niece, and that the good duke had sent their daughter to marry the king of Scotland, at his own expense, and had done many and very great kindnesses to the duke of Gueldres.

CHAP. LXVI.

THE DUKE OF ALENÇON IS ARRESTED AND THROWN INTO PRISON. — THE TURKS ARE MIRACULOUSLY DEFEATED IN HUNGARY.—OTHER EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN THIS YEAR OF MCCCCLVI.

Soon after the feast of Pentecost, the duke of Alençon was arrested in Paris, by orders from the king and the count de Dunois, bastard of Orleans, and sent to Melun. From Melun he was carried before the king, and convicted, as it was said, of having intrigued with the English to accomplish a marriage between his eldest son and the eldest daughter of the duke of York, unknown to the king, and of having engaged to deliver up to the

English his strong places, to the prejudice of the king, and particularly the duchy of Normandy. Having confessed his guilt, he was closely confined until after the death of king Charles. When he was arrested, it was currently reported that the duke of Burgundy was implicated in these intrigues of the duke of Alençon with the English, which so much displeased the king that he had it proclaimed throughout the realm, that no one, under pain of death, should make such charges against his good brother of Burgundy, nor any way speak disrespectfully of his honour.

In the month of June in this year, a comet with a prodigious tail appeared in the west, having its tail pointed toward England: it continued visible for three months. The new wines of this season were so sour that the old ones were in greater request for their superior goodness and flavour.

In this year also, the great emperor of the Turks, called Morbesan*, besieged

* Morbesan. Mohammed II. surnamed the Victorious.

the strong town and castle of Belgrade, situated on the confines of Hungary. He was upwards of four months and a half before it, which vexed him so much that he swore, in the presence of his army, to win it by force or perish in the attempt. There were some in the turkish army who gave information of this to those in the town, that they might be prepared; and Ovidianus*, one of the noblest and most powerful princes of Hungary, hearing also of this intention, instantly assembled nine hundred cavalry and forty thousand infantry of all sorts, and entered the town by the Danube, without the Turk knowing any thing thereof,—for he had only besieged the place on the land side, and had neglected to post any guards on that great river the Danube.

Ovidianus entered the town on the eve of Magdalen-day, which was the day fixed on by the Turk to storm the place; and so eager was he to fulfil his vow that he ordered one third of his army to commence the attack at midnight, which was

* Ovidianus. Probably Huniades,—John Corvin.

done with much courage, — but the besieged made so gallant a defence that they were repulsed. The attack lasted until eight o'clock in the morning, when another division, equal in numbers to the first, advanced to renew the combat, but they also were forced to retreat.

The emperor of the Turks now advanced in person, accompanied by the boldest of his captains, and continued the combat with such obstinacy and courage that, from its commencement, at four in the afternoon, it lasted until the middle of the following day, which made twenty hours in the whole: a terrible fatigue to those in the town thus to support three renewed attacks without any respite or repose. They were at length so worn down that they could not longer help each other, and the Turks were beginning to enter the town in large bodies.

Among the Christians in this town was a very devout cordelier friar, called John Capistran, who, seeing the Turks enter the breach, seized a crucifix, and, ascending the highest part of the castle, cried aloud, 'O Deus meus, Deus meus! O altissime

Pater! veni in adjutorium, veni et libera populum quem redemisti pretioso sanguine tuo. Veni noli tardare. Deus meus ubi sunt misericordiæ tuæ antiquæ, veni ne Turci et increduli dicant ubi est Deus eorum.' The cordelier, in uttering these words, wept bitterly; and when the Christians heard them, they felt quite refreshed, and as if they were new men, without feeling any fatigue, and instantly fell on the Turks who were entering the town with such courage that they slew all they met, and put the rest to flight. They pursued them upwards of eight leagues, killing or wounding all they overtook, so that more than one hundred thousand were slain in the whole. They gained all the artillery of the Turks, and such quantities of riches, in tents, money, and effects, as it would seem marvellous to relate.

Among other things won were eleven large bombards, six of which were of prodigious length, and of a great bore, and more than two hundred smaller bombards and cannons. When news of this important victory was carried to the pope then reigning, he ordered processions and

thanksgivings to be made in all the churches of Christendom, to render thanks to God for this great victory,—and, among other things, to ring the Ave Maria between two and three o'clock on the anniversary of the day this miracle happened, as it is usual to ring it every evening in all churches; and this manner of ringing it after dinner is continued in several churches in France.

CHAP. LXVII.

THE DAUPHIN OF FRANCE TAKES REFUGE WITH DUKE PHILIP OF BURGUNDY,—OTHER EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN THIS YEAR.

Louis de Valois, eldest son to the king of France, and dauphin of Vienne, had resided for ten or twelve years in Dauphiny, because the king was displeased with him. Some said, this was owing to his ill treatment of his subjects in Dauphiny, more particularly the bishops and

churchmen, whose revenues he seized against their wills, for the support of his state: others, however, excused him for so doing, because his father had stopped the allowance he had formerly given him.

It was also reported, that the king's anger arose from the death of the fair Agnes being caused by poison, of which the dauphin was suspected, as he had frequently blamed and murmured against his father for his attachment to her. In truth, Agnes Sorel was the handsomest woman of her age, and in more favour with the king than the queen: the great lords also paid more court to her than to the queen, who was a very good and honourable lady, which had vexed the dauphin much,—and he had hastened her death.

However, after the decease of the fair Agnes, the damsel de Villequier, her niece, succeeded her in the affections of the king, who, in his latter days, would have about him the finest and handsomest women of his realm.

Whatever may have been the real cause of the quarrel between the king and the dauphin, the king ordered sir Anthony

de Chabannes count de Dammartin, to proceed into Dauphiny with a sufficient body of men at arms to arrest the dauphin and bring him to his presence by force or otherwise; but the dauphin fortunately escaped, — for it was then commonly believed that, had he been arrested, the king would have treated him very harshly, and would have made king his younger son Charles.

The dauphin having had intimation of the orders to arrest him, gave public notice for a hunting party on the morrow, and ordered his dinner to be prepared at the place of rendezvous. Intelligence of this was carried to the count de Dammartin, who posted ambushes to seize the dauphin the moment he should arrive at the place; but, as he suspected their machinations, early on the morrow, when it was thought he was gone to the hunt he with six of his most confidential attendants, mounted their fleetest horses, and set off, as fast as they could travel, for Burgundy, and never stopped until they arrived at St Claude, a town in Burgundy. It was well for them that they made this

haste, or they would have been overtaken by the count de Dammartin, who followed very closely at their heels.

Shortly after the dauphin's arrival at St Claude, he went to the prince of Orange at Nasere*, who received him most honourably: and on hearing him declare that he feared he should be pursued, and that he was desirous of going to the duke of Burgundy, the prince sent off in haste for the marshal of Burgundy, who came to him with a handsome escort of men at arms, — and they instantly departed for Brabant.

This conduct was truly extraordinary, —for the prince of Orange and the duke of Burgundy were the two men in the world whom the dauphin hated the most, for having several times repulsed, with loss, his own and the king's men, whenever they made any excursions on the duke's territories, which he was determined to preserve from inroads; but necessity, which owns no law, forced him to seek an asylum

* Nasere. Q. Nazey? a village near Besançon.

among those he hated, and to make use of them in his time of need.

The marshal of Burgundy conducted him with such prudence through the territories of the duke of Burgundy that he arrived safely at Louvain, whence he went to Brussels, and thence he sent one of his attendants with information to the duke, at that time in Holland, of his arrival. The good duke, anxious to receive and entertain him as the eldest son of his sovereign lord, hastened as much as possible the treaty of Deventer, that he might return to Brabant.

Immediately on his arrival at Brussels, he went to the dauphin, and paid him every respect in honour to the king, and to himself personally,—and no prince knew better how to do these honours. He instantly assigned him three thousand francs monthly to maintain his estate, and begged of him to make choice of what place he should please for his residence, and he would give orders for its being immediately delivered up to him. The dauphin asked for Geneppe*,

Geneppe,—on the Dyle, six leagues from Brus-

a castle in Brabant, pleasantly situated, and a handsome residence, where he lived for a long time.

In the course of this year, sir Thibault de Luxembourg, lord of Fiennes, brother to the count of St. Pol, and widower of the daughter of the lord of Antoing, by whom he had several children, became a monk of the order of Cistercians, notwithstanding that in his youth he had been a very free liver.

Toward the end of October, soon after the arrival of the dauphin in Brabant, the duke of Burgundy sent a handsome embassy to the king of France, the chief of which was the lord de Chimay high bailiff of Hainault, to satisfy him as to his son's coming to his territories, and to say that he would show him every possible honour in his power. The ambassadors waited long for an audience; and while they were thus delayed, the king of France sent a body of men at arms to Compiègne and Soissons, two towns on the frontiers of the

sels. Louis XI. resided here, when dauphin, with the dauphiness, upwards of five years.

duke of Burgundy's possessions. The duke, hearing of this, suspected that the king intended to make war on him, as indeed did many others, and issued a summons throughout Picardy, Flanders, and Hainault, for all men capable of bearing arms to be ready in his defence in case the king should attack him.

About Christmas in this year, Charles duke of Bourbon, departed this life, and was succeeded by his eldest son, who, by his mother, was nephew to the duke of Burgundy.

CHAP. LXVIII.

A QUARREL TAKES PLACE BETWEEN DUKE PHILIP OF BURGUNDY AND HIS SON THE COUNT OF CHAROLOIS, BUT IS APPEASED BY THE DAUPHIN.—THE COUNTESS OF CHAROLOIS IS BROUGHT TO BED OF A DAUGHTER.—OTHER EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN DIVERS PARTS.

On the 17th of January, of this same year, while the duke of Burgundy resided at Brussels, a dispute arose between the lord de Quievrain and the lord d'Aymeries, both chamberlains to the count de Charolois, each of whom, during the absence of the lord d'Auxy his first chamberlain, would take the precedency of the other. The count was desirous that the lord d'Aymeries should have the preference,—which coming to the knowledge of the duke, he sent for his son, and commanded him to prefer the lord de Quievrain. The count replied, that he would do no such thing, and that the house of Croy should not govern him, as he had suffered them to do in regard to himself.

The duke was so exceedingly irritated at this answer of his son that he would have struck him, and commanded him to quit his territories instantly. The count, therefore, departed, much angered and grieved. When night came, the duke, equally troubled, called for a horse, and, having mounted it, rode alone into the fields, although it was then raining very hard. He soon after entered a forest, and lost his road, so that he knew not whither to direct his horse: luckily he came to the house of a poor man, who received him, and he lay there that night. On the morrow, at the earliest dawn, he made his host conduct him strait to Geneppe,—and on his departure gave him eight florins of the Rhine.

The attendants of the duke sought him during the night, so that on the morrow he was grandly accompanied, and thus returned to Brussels. He shortly after pardoned his son, at the request and entreaties of the principal lords of his household, and especially at the entreaties of the dauphin; but he banished from his territories two of the count's attend-

ants, because he suspected them of having advised his son to act in the manner he had done, respecting the two chamberlains.

It happened, that not long after, as the dauphin and the count de Charolois were hunting in a forest, toward evening they separated, and the dauphin, with only two attendants, lost his way in the thickest part of the forest. The count, imagining that he was returned to Brussels, came home without him. The duke, seeing him return without the dauphin, was much angered, and ordered him to remount, and sent him, with many others, with torches and lights, charging them withal to seek diligently and find him. They made such haste that they met him full eight leagues from Brussels under the guidance of a peasant, to whom he had given a golden crown: by this means they had so soon found him, and were much rejoiced thereat,—as was the duke, when he saw him arrive in safety.

On the 13th of February, in this year, the countess of Charolois was brought to bed of a daughter in the town of Brussels. At her christening, the dauphin, the duchess

of Burgundy, and the lady of Ravestein were sponsors. The dauphin named her Mary, in honour of the queen his mother, who bore that name. Great feasts took place on this occasion throughout the duke's territories, —and in the great towns there were illuminations, and thanksgivings were offered up to God.

A short time after this event, the duke of Burgundy sent again the same embassy, namely, the lord de Chimay and sir Simon de Lalain, to assure the king of France, that the dauphin had come to him of his own accord, and to find means of satisfying the king on this subject.

About this time died the patriarch of Antioch, brother to the chancellor of France, Juvenel des Ursins, to the archbishop of Rheims, and to another knight at arms, who were four brothers much in the good graces of the king of France.

[A. D. 1457.]

CHAP. LXIX.

AN EMBASSY FROM THE KING OF HUNGARY ARRIVES AT TOURS, AND IS HONOURABLY RECEIVED BY THE KING OF FRANCE. —THE KING OF HUNGARY DIES. — THE FRENCH TAKE THE SEAPORT OF SANDWICH BY STORM.

In the year 1457, the king of France, anxious to attack his enemies, more particularly the Saracens and other unbelievers in the catholic faith, made an alliance with the potent king of Hungary, who was sovereign of three kingdoms, namely, Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia. In consequence of this alliance, the king of Hungary was to espouse the princess Magdalen, the king of France's daughter; and very many great barons, knights, and lords of the three kingdoms were sent as ambassadors to France to be present at the betrothing: even churchmen were of this embassy, such as the archbishop of Cologne and the bishop of Passau,—to the amount, in all, of six hundred horse.

When they arrived at Tours in their various dresses, the king was at Montils le Tours, a place hard by, — but the queen and princess were in Tours. The ambassadors presented to the queen a rich robe of cloth of gold, embroidered with pearls and jewels, and another, equally sumptuous, to the princess, together with a splendid waggon hung on springs*. Many of the principal lords of the king's household went about a league from Tours to meet them.

They were handsomely received by the king and his court, and great entertainments were made for them, especially by the count de Foix, who gave a grand feast on Thursday before Christmas, in the abbey of St Julian at Tours, where all the princes and lords of the court were present. The tables were served, in the utmost abundance, with all sorts of delicacies, such as pheasants, partridges, bustards, cranes, wild geese, rabbits without number, fat capons, six score quarts of hypocras, as well white as red, removes,

* I have said 'a waggon hung on springs,' as it is in the original *chariot branlant.*

—morrice dances of children dressed as savages issuing from a rock, singers, trumpets, clarions, and various devices, —insomuch that this dinner cost eighteen hundred crowns, besides the rich presents to the guests.

These feasts were continued to the ambassadors waiting for the betrothing of the princess to the king of Hungary, by procuration, soon after Christmas. But it has been truly said, that often man proposes, and God disposes; for on the morrow of Christmas-day, the melancholy news of the king of Hungary's death was brought to the king of France, which caused great sorrow to him and his whole court.

The king ordered a general mourning, and a grand funeral service to be performed, in honour of the potent king of Hungary, in the metropolitan church of St Gratien in Tours, with ringing of bells, illuminations of wax tapers in the greatest profusion, befitting the obsequies of so noble a prince.

The hungarian ambassadors took their leave of the king of France on the mor-

row after new-year's-day*, and departed for their own country, taking their road through Paris, where they were grandly received,—and all the nobility then in the town went out to meet them as far as the windmill beyond the gate of St James. They had people appointed, however cold the weather was, to lie upon their carriages, which were chained up with great chains. This was a novel sight,—and the chains were fastened with a lock, the key of which one of their governors carried with him when he went to sleep. A grand funeral service was performed in the church of Nôtre Dame, with a great display of torches and wax lights.

During the stay of the Hungarians in Paris, the frost was so intense that they could not walk or ride by reason of the slipperiness of the streets, but went about in a traineau, made of wood, square and without wheels, wherever business or pleasure led them. They visited the noble and royal church of St Denis, and were

* The commencement of the year seems *now* to take place seven days after Christmas.

received at the gate of the church by the convent in their copes, but the abbot was absent. They were presented to kiss a cross of gold set with precious stones, that contained within it a part of the true cross, and they were besprinkled with holy water and incense: in short, their reception was similar to that which would have been given to the late king of Hungary, had he been there in person. The treasures and sacred vestments of the church were displayed to them,—and they saw the bodies of the saints that had been interred in separate chapels, and the sepultures of the kings and queens of France; all of which gave them much pleasure, for they had for interpreter one of the king's pursuivants, who understood their language, and had been ordered by the king to attend on them. After their return from St Denis to Paris, they departed for Hungary.

On the 21st day of August, sir Pierre de Brézé, lord of Varenne and count de Maulévrier, accompanied by Robert de Flocques, bailiff of Evreux, with many other lords, men at arms and archers, sailed from Honfleur, to the number of four

thousand combatants. And on the 25th of the said month, the lords de la Fosse and de l'Eure put to sea, and sailed for several places without meeting any adventures, nor being able to land from the roughness of the weather.

On the following Sunday, the 28th of the month, from sixteen to eighteen hundred combatants made a descent, two leagues from Sandwich in England, about six o'clock in the morning, and formed themselves into three battalions. They marched on foot two long leagues through very bad roads, until they came to a bulwark that had been lately repaired, the ditches of which were full of water. This bulwark had two towers full of archers, who were sharply attacked, and many wounded on each side. Several of the English were killed,—and the bulwark was won by storm, the English having retreated into the town.

The bailiff of Evreux, who commanded the rear-guard, remained at his post during this attack, and, when the bulwark was won, kept his position, as it had been

ordered. A division came by sea before Sandwich, to the great joy of their companions on foot, seeing their handsome appearance, while the English were as much cast down. In this division was a guidon of the count de Dunois, borne by Galiot de Genouillac.

There were in the port of Sandwich a large carrack and three ships of war, into which many English had retreated, and would have continued to do much mischief to the French, if the grand seneschal of Normandy had not sent them orders to cease shooting or he would burn their vessels. It was then agreed, that they should retire in safety from these vessels, provided they ceased from hostilities, which was fully complied with.

This same day the seneschal had it proclaimed through his army, that no one, under pain of death, should touch the effects of the churches, or violate the honour of any woman, or set any house on fire, or kill any one in cold blood: all of which commands were most honourably observed.

The infantry now entered the town by the gates, and the division by sea the harbour,—when the English gave them full employment, for they attacked them in every square when they rallied after being defeated in another place. However, the French, but with great difficulty, drove them out of the town, and displayed their banners from the gates, under which the French formed themselves in battle-array: indeed, they had need so to do; for the English were increasing in strength from all the adjacent parts. They had heard that the French intended to attack Sandwich, but, from pride, they said they would not believe it until they should see them.

The English, thus increased, kept up the skirmishes before the gates for six hours without intermission, when many were killed and wounded on each side. Thirty new knights were created on this occasion, namely, Robert de Flocques, called Flocquet, bailiff of Evreux,—Thibault de Termes, bailiff of Chartres,—John Charbonnel, lord of Chevreuses, and others, who behaved very valiantly.

When it was about five o'clock in the afternoon, the French, perceiving no end to skirmishing from the numbers of the enemy constantly increasing, and that their own men were greatly fatigued from their sufferings at sea, as the weather had been against them, determined on making a retreat; for they thought they should be unable to continue the engagement during the night, considering that they had many killed and wounded, that their men had little or no refreshments during the whole day, and that the English were hourly receiving reinforcements. In this retreat, the French suffered no other loss than that of a boat, in which were twelve men at arms, that sunk, and nine of them were drowned: it was a pity, for they had that day well done their duty. May God grant them his pardon, and show mercy to all the others who fell!

If it had not been for the great quantity of wine in Sandwich, of which many archers took more than was necessary, the seneschal would have tarried there with his whole company that night. They, however, carried off much wealth, and

numbers of vessels, of different sizes, that were in the harbour: in the number were three large ships of war, which cast anchor in the road, two leagues from Sandwich, and remained there until the Wednesday following: the English all the time were drawn up in battle-array, about a cannon-shot distant one division from another. The seneschal departed with his fleet on the Thursday, with numbers of prisoners and much wealth. On his arrival at Honfleur, the prisoners were ransomed, and the plunder divided.

This was a year of great scarcity in France, and of great mortality in other places.

CHAP. LXX.

DUKE PHILIP OF BURGUNDY CARRIES THE DAUPHIN TO BRUGES, WHERE HE IS JOYFULLY RECEIVED WITH MANY HONOURS. —OTHER EVENTS MENTIONED AND REPEATED.

Soon after Easter in this year, the duke of Burgundy, accompanied by the dauphin, set out from Brussels for Bruges, passing through the towns of Oudenarde and Courtray. In both these towns, the dauphin was received most honourably. Thence they proceeded to Bruges,—and the principal inhabitants, to the amount of eight hundred, very richly dressed, came out to meet them, with a great concourse of common people, to do honour to the dauphin, and to please their lord.

On the first day of July, in this year, a meeting was held between St Omer and Gravelines, by the count d'Estampes and the bastard of Burgundy, on the part of the duke of Burgundy, and the earl of Warwick for the king of England, to re-

press and check the enterprises of the English on several parts of the duke's territories. The matter was so well managed that a truce was settled between them for eight years.

The 10th of this month, the lady Charlotte of Savoy, daughter to the duke of Savoy, and married to the dauphin, was conducted to him in the town of Namur by the lord de Montagu, whom he had sent to escort her; and then the marriage was perfectly consummated,—for although they had been married five years, it was said that they had never lain together. Duke Philip was not then at Namur, but in Picardy, whither he had gone to learn the intentions of the towns on the Somme, namely, St Quentin, Corbie, Amiens, and Abbeville; for it had been rumoured that the king of France had raised a large army, but no one knew how he intended to employ it,—and it was also reported that the king was much displeased with the duke of Burgundy, for detaining his son (as he thought) against his will, and out of contempt to him. The duke had therefore gone to these towns, which belonged to

him by the treaty of Arras, to put them on their guard, and to entreat them not to admit any men of arms that the king might send to their towns. But should the king come in person, they were to admit him with every honour, as their supreme lord. These requests the several towns willingly complied with.

About the end of this month of July, upward of two thousand houses were destroyed by fire in the town of Dordrecht in Holland: many persons were also burnt to death, which was a most melancholy case.

The latter end of August, a large body of French sailed from Normandy, giving out that they were going to aid the Scots against the English; but they made a descent near to Sandwich, which they took by storm, before the country could be raised to oppose them. They, however, only staid there one tide; for had they remained longer, they would not have returned, from the great numbers of English that were hastening thither from all quarters. The commander in chief of the French was the lord de Varennes, seneschal of Normandy; and new knights were made, to the number

of twenty gentlemen,—among whom were Floqcquet, Charlot de Mares, Porrus de Liques, and others. At this attack, three hundred English were killed, and about thirty French. They sailed back to Normandy with their plunder, which was very considerable.

Some short time before this, a party of Bretons had invaded the English coast, and burnt and pillaged some villages: they made no long stay, for the English assembled in force to destroy them, had they not departed.

In the month of September, of this year, the king of France sent the bishop of Constance and a few others, as his ambassadors to the duke of Burgundy at Brussels, to remonstrate with the duke on several matters, especially on the dauphin's remaining so long with him, to the great displeasure of the king.

CHAP. LXXI.

A COOLNESS BETWEEN THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AND THE COUNT OF ST POL.—OTHER MATTERS.

In the preceding year, the duke of Burgundy, as earl of Hainault, had taken possession of the lands of Enghien, belonging to the count de Saint Pol, and situated in the country of Hainault, although he had not touched any other lands of the count, situated in France or in the other territories of the duke. The count de St Pol was much displeased at this conduct; but, wishing to avoid an open rupture with the duke, he sent to require, if it were his good pleasure, that he might appear in his presence to hear what he had been guilty of, and to make such answers and defence as became him,—and for this purpose he demanded a passport from the duke. The duke replied, that he had no occasion to require a passport, unless he reputed himself his enemy. The count, in answer, said, that so far from reputing himself his

enemy, he was his true and loyal subject, but that he had demanded a passport for the security of his person, to avoid the effects of the anger of his prince; for that he was surrounded by counsellors who loved him little, and who were seeking to create trouble between the duke and him,—and he had, therefore, been advised not to appear before him without first having a passport. The passport was at length sent him.

It was reported that the count de St Pol considered the lord de Croy, first chamberlain and principal minister to the duke, as his chief enemy, although, a long time before, a marriage had been agreed to between the eldest son of the lord de Croy and the daughter of the count de St Pol; and the lady of Croy had received the damsel, and had educated her as her own child, because she was too young for marriage. I know not whether the count repented of this match, but he wanted to have his daughter again, probably to match her more nobly,—and he sent secretly one of his sons to the place where she was, to bring his sister back; but the lord de Croy, having had intimation of this, managed

matters so dexterously that the young couple were married and bedded before the count de Saint Pol could provide a remedy. This was the cause of their hatred.

The count, having received his passport from the duke, came to Brussels grandly attended by noble men, and by more than two hundred horse. The next day, which was about the middle of September, he had an audience of the duke, and was accused of having slain, or caused to be slain, certain persons, and of having taken, or caused to be taken, effects wrongfully and contrary to justice. It was on these grounds the duke had laid hands on the lands of Enghien; and he was told that he made but a sorry return for the numerous acts of kindness that had been done to him and to his family by the duke and his predecessors.

To these charges the count replied, that he always had been, and still was, ready to serve and obey the duke in all things, whom he considered so good and benevolent; that if there were none who had prejudiced the duke's mind against him, he trusted he should satisfy him, as

to these accusations, if it were his pleasure to hear him in private; for that he should submit himself wholly to his gracious mercy, —but that if he would not hear him in private, he was ready to reply instantly and publicly to the accusations that had been laid against him.

This was accepted; but, notwithstanding any defence or excuses that he made, he could not obtain the repossession of the lands of Enghien, and returned this time without effecting any thing.

In this year of 1457, a splendid embassy, consisting of upwards of seven hundred horses, arrived at Tours from Lancelot king of Hungary and Bohemia. Among them were an archbishop, twelve or thirteen great barons, and more than thirty gentlemen, who were followed by twenty-six waggons richly adorned and well equipped, to carry their baggage. Before they entered the city, king Charles sent out the principal lords of his household to meet and escort them into the town: the churchmen and people went out also to do them honour; but the king then resided at a favourite palace at Montils la Tours, where

he had been ill, so that the ambassadors were forced to remain ten days at Tours before they could have an audience.

The ambassadors went to Montils les Tours on the 18th day of December, where they were presented to the king, the queen, their youngest son Charles, and the princess Magdalen. When the presentations were performed, the archbishop of Bolisdastain* made an harangue in Latin, in such terms as he had received from his sovereign, and discoursed first on the love and friendship that had always existed between the kings of France and the kings of Hungary and Bohemia,—adding, that it was in consequence of their mutual affection that the king of Hungary had sent this embassy. 'When,' continued he, 'peace and amity shall exist between you both, who in the world can hurt you? Thy predecessors and our sovereigns, the kings of Hungary and Bohemia, have been in alliance. Thou art the column of Christianity, and my sovereign lord is the shield: thou art the

* Bolisdastain. Q. In the former account of this embassy, the archbishop of Cologne and bishop of Passau, according to M. du Cange, are mentioned.

house of Christendom, and my sovereign is the wall.' Many other fine compliments he addressed to the king, and, at the conclusion, formally demanded in marriage the princess Magdalen for king Lancelot his lord, which had been before done in a private manner.

As the king was well inclined to this marriage, he ordered his ministers to confer on the subject with the ambassadors; but the first days were employed in feasting the ambassadors, which was done by grand and plentiful entertainments given them by one lord after another. At these feasts, all the nobles of the court of France were present in the most sumptuous dresses,—so that it was a splendid sight to view the dukes, counts, barons, knights, esquires, ladies, damsels, heralds, pursuivants, minstrels and trumpets out of number.

But above all these entertainments was the first given by the count de Foix, which, in variety and magnificence surpassed them all. The first ornament was a castle having four small towers at the corners, and in the middle a larger one with four windows: in every window was seen the fair coun-

tenance of a damsel with her yellow hair, like fine gold, scattered over her shoulders, and no other parts of her form were seen. On the summit of this tower was displayed the banner of king Lancelot, having his arms properly emblazoned, and around the smaller towers were attached the arms of the principal ambassadors. Within this large tower, but unseen, were six boys singing so very melodiously that they were supposed to be damsels.

The second pageant was the resemblance of a tyger, a horrible beast, with a short thick body, two small pointed horns on his forehead, and with tusks of a wild boar. A man was concealed within the beast, who moved him at his pleasure, to appear as if alive; and he was borne by four gentlemen dressed in the fashion of the country of Béarn, and dancing after their manner.

The third was the resemblance of a great rock, on which were a fountain and great plenty of rabbits and other animals. From the rock issued five small children dressed as savages, who danced a morris-dance.

The fourth interlude was the ap-

pearance of a very able esquire as if on horseback; but the head and housings only were fastened to him, with which he pranced about the hall, holding in his hand a pot painted in various colours. From this pot there sprang roses, daisies, and other flowers; and, rising above all, was a handsome lily, loaded with flowers de luce. Having placed this pot on the table, another gentleman arrived with a live peacock in a dish, which he also put on the table, in order that all who wished to make any vows might then do so. Upon which, two knights of the embassy did make vows to perform a deed of arms, and the other to hold a tourney.

At length, dishes full of spices and all kinds of sweatmeats were brought to the great table, under the figures of stags, wild boars, bears, monkeys, lions and other beasts; and on each dish were the arms of those who were present at this dinner. When the dinner was ended, the dancings began.

CHAP. LXXII.

THE DEATH OF LANCELOT KING OF HUNGARY, WHICH CAUSES GREAT MOURNING AT THE COURT OF FRANCE.—THE DEATHS OF JOHN OF COIMBRA, KING OF CYPRUS, AND OF THE DUKE OF BRITTANY,—WHICH LAST IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS BROTHER ARTHUR COUNT DE RICHEMONT.

On Christmas-eve, in the year 1457, news arrived at Tours of the death of Lancelot king of Hungary, while his ambassadors were feasting, as has been said. This sad event changed their feastings into sorrow, and their grief moved the compassion of all; for they well knew the ardent desire their king had to marry the daughter of the king of France, not through any wish of obtaining lands or money with her, but through a strong passion to connect himself by marriage with the king of France, as he was then but eighteen years old. They also perceived, from the great respect and attentions that had been shown them in France, that the king was equally de-

sirous of this match: you may therefore suppose that their grief was very great.

This event was concealed six days from king Charles, lest it might increase his disorder, and in order to afford time for its being broken gently to him. Funeral obsequies were performed in the church of St Martin at Tours, before the king was made acquainted with it; but on that day it was told him, and he much lamented it. On the morrow, the ambassadors set out on their return, very sorrowful at the unfortunate issue of their embassy.

Intelligence of the king of Hungary's death was carried to the duke of Burgundy on Christmas-day, for which he testified his grief; for king Lancelot and he were nearly related; although he well knew that the projected alliance between the two kings was meant for his disadvantage, and particularly to deprive him of the duchy of Luxembourg, which he had gained, as well by arms as by purchase. King Lancelot, it was said, claimed this duchy; and it was reported, that he had bequeathed it to the lady Magdalen of France, and had ordered his executor, king Charles, to put

her in the possession of it. Notwithstanding that duke Philip had heard all this, he cared very little about it. Soon after Christmas, the duke ordered a grand funeral service to be performed in the cathedral church of Bruges for the soul of the king of Hungary. It was rumoured, that he had died of poison given him by some of his ministers, who feared, that should he marry the princess of France, they would be dismissed from the government; and it was said, that from the time he had swallowed the poison, he only lived three hours.

In this year, died also John of Coimbra, a Portuguese, nephew to the duchess of Burgundy. He had married the widowed queen of Cyprus, and in her right became king of that island. It was a great loss, for he had given great hopes of his being a good and virtuous prince.

The duke of Brittany departed this life without leaving any male heirs, so that the duchy fell to his brother Arthur count de Richemont, constable of France, who reigned as duke in his stead.

CHAP. LXXIII.

KING CHARLES IS DANGEROUSLY ILL.—ON HIS RECOVERY, HE SENDS TO INFORM THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY THAT HE SHALL TAKE UNDER HIS WARD THE ESTATES OF THE YOUTH OF RODEMAC*.—THE DUKE'S ANSWER.—OF THE STORMS OF WIND, FROST, AND SNOW IN THIS SEASON.

At this period, king Charles of France was so grievously ill at Tours that it was thought he could never recover, and processions and public prayers were made and offered up in several parts of the kingdom for the restoration of his health. He shortly after this recovered, and then sent a gentleman of his household with credential letters to the duke of Burgundy; and, having laid them before the duke, he said, that the king of France signified to him by his mouth, that he had taken under his wardship all the lands of the youth

* Rodemac. Rodemacheron, or Rodemark,—a town in Luxembourg.

of Rodemac, as well those in France as elsewhere.

The duke instantly replied, that the lands of that youth were not in France but in the duchy of Luxembourg, and that, as he was his subject, the king had nothing to do with it. 'I would wish to know,' added he, 'whether the king means to keep the peace of Arras, which I shall not on my part infringe: tell him, I beg of you, to make me acquainted with his will, and recommend me to him; for I know that he has some in his council who are no friends of mine.' When the duke had given this answer, he sent off on the morrow a secret embassy to the king.

This youth of Rodemac, whose estates lay in the duchy of Luxembourg, had always been of the party of king Lancelot, in opposition to the duke of Burgundy, and was still against him. On the other hand, the count de St Pol, in the expectation of being constable of France, had attached himself to king Charles,—so that, from these circumstances, war rather than peace was looked for between the king of France and the duke of Burgundy.

In this year, the winter was so severe and long that the frost lasted from Michaelmas-day until the 18th of February, and the large rivers were so hard frozen that carriages passed over them. At length, the frost broke up with such falls of snow and rain that the country was greatly damaged by the inundations. These miseries were increased by storms of wind that blew down many houses and steeples, and chimnies without number: great damage was done to the vessels all along the coast.

Toward the end of this year, there were such numerous pilgrimages of Germans and Brabanters, men, women and children, to St Michael's Mount, that the like was never seen before; nor could any one divine the reason of their being so numerous at this time, but from a sudden fit of devotion that had seized them.

[A. D. 1458.]

CHAP. LXXIV.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, AT THE REQUEST OF THE TOWN OF GHENT, GOES THITHER.—A GREAT FEAST IS MADE THERE.

On the 23d day of April, after Easter, in the year 1458, duke Philip of Burgundy made his entry into the town of Ghent, at the request of the inhabitants,—but not on their first soliciting it, for they had frequently made this request through the dauphin and other great lords. He would not, however, agree to go thither until that day, when he made his entry with the dauphin; for he would not, for particular reasons, take thither the count de Charolois, nor the lord de Croy his first chamberlain. He was there received with greater honours than any prince had ever obtained, for the whole town came out to meet him,—the churchmen, in their robes and copes, as far as a quarter of a league,

followed by the officers of justice, as well those of the town as of the prince,—then the deacons of the different trades, to the number of seventy, each attended by ten of his trade, all variously and appropriately dressed: after them came the knights, esquires, and burghers of the town, to the amount of more than four hundred.

When they approached the duke, the bailiff of Ghent advanced and addressed him, saying, that the inhabitants of the town of Ghent were come out to meet him,—and he entreated that he would hear what they had to say. The chief magistrate of the town then stept forth, and made the following harangue: 'My most redoubted lord, behold your subjects of Ghent, who request and supplicate (here they all fell on their knees, with uplifted hands,) that you would be pleased to forget and forgive all their former outrages and ill conduct, for they are ready and willing to obey you in all things, to remain your faithful servants, and, should need be, to die for you.' He added other words nearly to the same purport,

With the duke were the count d'Estampes, the lord de Ravenstein, and others, to the number of three hundred knights. When this harangue was finished, the duke advanced to the town, the procession that had come out to meet him taking the lead, and the duke following, preceded by his heralds and trumpets in their tabards of arms. He was surrounded by fifty archers of his body-guard, clothed in their jackets, each having a hunting spear in his hand. When the duke approached the gates, he found them open, for they had been thrown into the fields; and as he passed, a virgin descended by machinery, who saluted him, and said, 'Inveni quem diligit anima mea.'

From this gate to the ducal palace, all the streets were hung with rich cloths; and at the windows of the houses were numberless lighted torches, and the people crying for joy at seeing their lord, and conducting themselves with the utmost humility.

At each of the squares on his way were temporary stages erected, whereon very magnificent historical pantomimes

were acted, and great bonfires were made in every street. So many fine shows were exhibited that the whole seemed like a dream; and the duke was two hours before he arrived at his palace, from the pleasure he took in looking at such beautiful pageants.

At the entrance of his palace was a man dressed in skins to represent a lion, who took his horse by the bridle and led him into the court-yard. On the morrow, the town repeated these rejoicings, and placed tables covered with all sorts of refreshments in the streets, for all to partake of who would, showing the greatest joy and humility on the occasion.

CHAP. LXXV.

THE DEATH OF THE KING OF ARRAGON. —HIS BASTARD FERNANDO SUCCEEDS TO THE THRONE OF NAPLES.—OF POPE PIUS, AND THE EVENTS THAT HAPPENED ABOUT THAT TIME; SUCH AS THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, AND THE EMBASSY FROM ENGLAND TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

ABOUT St John Baptist's day, in this year, Alphonso king of Arragon, Naples and Sicily, departed this life in the city of Naples. He had been in his time very powerful, redoubted, and rich, as was apparent after his death; for it was commonly reported that he had left to his bastard son Fernando, besides the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, six millions of florins in coin, and his chapel, which was marvellously rich, together with all his jewels, estimated at more than a million of gold. He had formed the largest ship that had ever been seen at sea, which returned to the port of Naples the very day of his decease. It

happened that in so doing she struck on a bank of gravel with such force that she was dismasted, and the mainmast falling on the deck split it into a thousand pieces, and the vessel sunk. The mast was so thick that five men could not encircle it with their united arms,—and the noise of its fall was horrible to hear.

Eight days after his death, a very richly gilt and painted tabernacle, that was placed over the seat he usually sat on in his hall, fell down just at the same hour that the king deceased.

King Alphonso had been brother in arms to the duke of Burgundy; and although they had never seen each other, they were so strongly attached that they wore their different orders.

Pope Calixtus, then on the papal throne, hearing that the kingdom of Naples had escheated to him from the late king's dying without legal heirs, claimed that kingdom from Fernando the bastard, and, because he would not give it up, excommunicated him and all his adherents. However, on the death of Calixtus, which happened soon after, his successor, pope

Pius, restored the kingdom to Fernando. It was currently said, that Fernando had given to Pius a very large sum of money for his absolution, and to remain peaceably king of Naples.

When pope Calixtus had held the papacy about four years, he departed this life: the cardinal of Sienna, called Æneas*, was elected in his room. He had been secretary to the emperor Frederic, was an eloquent man, and took the name of Pius II.

The summer of this year was so dry that it scarcely rained at all from the month of April to the middle of October,—and never, in the memory of man, was seen so dry a season. The wines of this year were very good, and corn at a low price; yet, notwithstanding this, a fatal pestilence reigned in many places, such as Paris, Abbeville, and in other great towns.

About Martinmas of this year, an embassy from England to the duke of Burgundy came to him at Mons in Hainault. It was reported, that the object was to propose a treaty of alliance by a marriage,

* Æneas. Æneas Silvius Piccolomini.

and that the duke had replied, he could not agree to it, according to the articles of the treaty of Arras, without the knowledge and consent of the king of France, who was equally debarred from making any treaty with England without the consent of the duke. After this answer, they went to the king of France.

CHAP. LXXVI.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY MAKES HIS ENTRY INTO GHENT, AND IS MAGNIFICENTLY ENTERTAINED BY THE TOWN. —THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS TO SUMMON THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY TO ATTEND THE TRIAL OF THE DUKE D'ALENÇON.

THE most excellent and potent prince the duke of Burgundy made his public entry into Ghent on Sunday after Easter, the 23d day of April, in the year 1458, about four or five o'clock in the afternoon. It was grandly conducted, and in the following order.

First, the churchmen led a procession out of the town, after paying each their devotions in their respective churches. Then the bailiff and sheriffs, with some of the burghers on horseback, clothed in black, went out to meet their lord, and received him with the greatest humility,—the other sheriffs remaining at the gate of the town. At each place they paid him every reverence by kneeling on the ground, offering him at the same time their persons and effects. Then the deans of the guilds came forth in handsome array, each with a torch in his hand, and a deputation from the different trades, amounting to upwards of two hundred, clad in sky-coloured mantles, and as many in white mantles, sweeping the ground. Without the gate, and on both sides of the street on the other side of the river, were figures representing the prophets: the one that looked toward the duke displayed a roll, on which was written in large letters, *Ecce nomen Domini venit de longinquo*, Isaiah xxx. The other figure pointed to the trumpets over the gate, and on his roll was written, *Canite turba pariter omnes*, &c. Near to the gate

was a sort of orchard or garden, in which was a young girl about ten years old, with her hair hanging down, and simply dressed in a damask mantle: on the duke's approach, she flung herself on her knees, and displayed a roll with uplifted hands, on which was written, *Inveni quem diligit anima mea,* Cantic. iii. The portal and inside of the gate were hung with black, grey, and crimson cloths: on the cloth over the portal at the barrier, the following was written in letters of gold, *Venit nobis pacificus Dominus, utere servitio nostro sicut placuerit tibi,* Judic. iii. On the cloth over the great gateway were the arms of the duke, emblazoned with helmet and crest. The streets, from the gate to the palace of the duke, were hung on each side with cloths of the before-mentioned colours, namely, black, grey, and crimson. On the black was written, in letters of silver, *Venit nobis pacificus Dominus:* on the grey, *Utere servitio nostro,*—and on the crimson, *Sicut placuerit tibi.* Above these cloths were five or six hundred torches, including those in the front of the houses, so that, comprehending all that were illuminated in the streets and

in the boats on the river, there were from fifteen to sixteen thousand torches.

Near the gate of entrance, and within the city, was a pageant representing the prodigal son after he had been forgiven by his father; and on a roll over it was written, *Pater peccavi in cœlum et coram te,* Luc. xv. Not far distant was the figure of a prophet holding a roll, on which was written, *Lex clementiæ in lingua ejus,* Proverb. xxxi. A little farther was a scaffold, on which was acted a representation of the emperor Caius in the midst of twelve senators,—and before him stood Marcus Tullius, who harangued the emperor on his clemency, in liberating many prisoners on his capture of Rome, beginning, *Diuturni silentii,* &c. In this oration is the following expression, among others, *Nullâ de virtutibus tuis major clementia est.* These words were written on the folds of the robes of the figure.

The next pageant represented a black lion holding in his paw the banner of the arms of the duke: before him was a white lioness humbly couched on the ground, and between them lay three young lion cubs half dead; but on the roaring of the lion,

they recovered strength, life, and activity. There was a roll over them, with these words, *Quasi leo rugiens, et formidabunt filii ejus*, Hosea xi. Further on was another prophet, displaying a roll with these words written thereon, *Ecce venit desideratus cunctis gentibus et replebitur gloria ejus domus Domini*, Haggai ii.

Near to this last pageant was a representation of David's indignation against Nabal, which was appeased by Nabal's wife,—and over it was written, *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel quoniam te misit*, Sam. xx.

The second gate was hung with black and grey cloth, on which were the arms of the duke properly emblazoned, with the arms of all the knights-companions of the Golden Fleece. A scaffold was erected close to this gate, having in the center a fountain, and surrounded by a representation of the triumphant state of the church, with the figure of a shepherd having recovered his lost sheep: he displayed a roll, which had written on it, *Congratulamini mihi quia inveni ovem quam perdideram*, Luc. xv.

Near the bridge was the figure of

Pompey, governor of Rome, after having made the king of Armenia prisoner for his rebellions against the Romans; but, seeing his great submission and humility, he had restored him to liberty, which showed that he thought he gained as much glory by pardoning as by conquest. Over him was written, *Æque pulchrum est vincere reges*, &c. Valerius, v. c. There was the representation of another prophet near the bridge, pointing with one hand to the water, and holding a roll in the other, whereon was written, *Respice Domine in servos tuos*, Psalm. lxxxix.

In the river were the figures of six apostles, among whom was St John, who addressed St Peter in writing, *Dominus est*, Matt. xiv. St Peter, seeing our Lord walking to him on the water, and fearing to be drowned, said also in the roll which he extended, *Domine salvum me fac*, Matt. xiv. Our Saviour held out to him a roll, whereon was written, *Modice fidei quare dubitasti?* Matt. xiv. On this same river was a very large boat full of burning torches, and adjoining it another figure as a prophet, with a roll in his hand, pointing also to a

large figure: it was written on the roll, *Exultabunt omnia ligna silvarum a facie Domini quoniam venit,* Psalm. xv.

Facing this last prophet was a large platform, on which was erected a fortress with two small towers, on the battlements of which were suspended shields, having emblazoned on them the arms of all the countries under the dependance of the duke of Burgundy. At the gate of this castle was the personage of a giant, called Mars, and surnamed the Victorious, having a lion by his side. In front of this castle was a wood, in which were dragons, wolves, foxes, and all sorts of wild beasts, that attempted to enter the gate and gain the castle, but were always repulsed. In the center of the gate was a man who represented the three conditions of men in the states of the duke, and was dressed, as to his head, like a priest: his right side was clothed with a long robe of cloth of silk for the gentry, and the left side was attired as the labourers in the field: there was written above him, *Diligam te Domine fortitudo mea. Et nisi custodieris civitatem frustra vigilat qui custodit eam,* Psalm. xxv.

On each side were the figures of king Solomon and the queen of Sheba, over whom was written, *Major est gloria tua quam rumor quem audivi,* Reg. l. c. x.

On another part of the platform was a representation of Gideon after he had obtained the victory, and the Israelites humbly addressing him with these words, *Dominare nostri tu, hic est filius tuus et filii tui quia liberasti nos,* Judic. viii. Not far off was an elephant bearing a castle, in which were two men and four children who sang melodiously a new song, the words of which were as follows.

'Long live the valiant Burgundy!
With heart and voice we loudly cry.
Henceforth no other lord we own;
But place our trust in him alone.

Long live the valiant Burgundy!
Who now from sorrow sets us free;
Whilst on his entrance thus we cry,
Long live the valiant Burgundy!'

This entry was more grand and magnificent than ever prince made before; for

by the side of the duke on horseback, with his hood thrown on his shoulder, was the bastard d'Armagnac, marshal to the lord dauphin,—and he was preceded by the ushers at arms, his first master of the horse bearing his sword. Immediately before him, his kings at arms, heralds, and pursuivants, clothed in their tabards of arms, were in great numbers; and before these heralds were from twelve to fourteen clarions and trumpets, who followed the count d'Estampes and sir Thibault de Neufchâtel lord de Blancmont, marshal of Burgundy. These were preceded by the lords and gentlemen of the dauphin, the two sons of the lord de Croy, and the two sons of the marshal of Burgundy. Before them rode the lord Adolphus of Cleves, the lord bastard of Burgundy and sir Philip Pol, all richly dressed, themselves and their heralds: they were preceded by the great lords of the court,—and before them other lords and gentlemen, two and two, without varlet or page: before these gentlemen were the principal burghers and gentlemen of the town in great numbers, dressed in black.

Immediately after the duke were fifty archers of his body-guard on foot, dressed in their jackets, each having a hunting spear in his hand: behind the duke were fifteen pages and numbers of gentlemen. The horses that were at this entry were estimated at more than two hundred, without including those of the pages, varlets and other attendants, which were already in the town. In short, it was the most triumphant entry that ever lord made into a town for these five hundred years past.

The illuminations were continued on the following night; and the townsmen acted many mysteries in the town-house, expressive of the praise of their lord, and of their own ill conduct. They did the same on the Tuesday evening, but without illuminations,—for it was said that the duke had desired they might not be longer continued. One of the burghers had covered the outside of his house with gold and silver, and had placed a great number of torches and lanthorns before it. In like manner did many others in the different

streets ornament their houses with rich hangings and splendid illuminations, at a great expense, during the two days the feast lasted.

On the Tuesday, the municipal officers, and principal burghers, waited on the duke at his palace, to thank him humbly for having come to his good town of Ghent, and to make offer of their lives and fortunes, for which he expressed his obligations. Then, on their knees, they supplicated him that he would be pleased to sup with them, in the manner of a banquet, at the town on the following Sunday, the last day of April, which he granted.

It was rumoured that this banquet would be free to all comers, like an open court, and that it would cost more than ten thousand crowns of gold. On the morrow, the managers of the feast dispatched purveyors nine leagues round Ghent, to collect every delicacy they could lay hands on, so that a small chicken was sold for two patars*.

* Patart,—a low-country coin, worth about one penny English.——*Cotgrave.*

Toward the end of April, the king of France sent ambassadors to the duke of Burgundy, to signify to him that he intended to give judgement on the duke of Alençon on the 10th of the ensuing month of June, in the town of Montargis, and to summon him to attend at the above place and time with the peers of France, of whom he was one, and dean of the said peers, and also to consider on other matters touching the welfare of the realm.

The duke instantly replied to these ambassadors,—'Although my lord the king, by the treaty of Arras, has no right to command me in any thing, and notwithstanding I am personally exempted from my dependance on him, nevertheless, I will, if it please God, be personally present at the time and place he has fixed on, to give sentence on the duke of Alençon, and respecting the matters touching the welfare of the kingdom of France.'

When the ambassadors, on receiving this answer, were departed, the duke sent Golden Fleece, the king at arms of his order, to king Charles, to deliver a certain

message he charged him with. He then had it proclaimed in all his great towns, that all who had been accustomed to bear arms, and by their fiefs and oaths were bounden to serve him, should prepare themselves to be in readiness to accompany him, the first day of June, on his journey to the king of France at Montargis, whither he had been by him summoned to attend; and it was his intention, if it pleased God, to appear there with the greatest possible force he could raise.

On the other hand, the king of France had ordered the arriere ban of his realm to hold themselves in readiness the first of June,—which made many suppose that a renewal of war was about to take place; and it was currently reported in France that these preparations were made to oppose the English, who were intending to invade France.

During this interval, those of Utrecht rebelled against their bishop, which caused the duke of Burgundy, his father, to send sir Anthony his bastard to Holland, with eight score lances, and from seven to eight

hundred archers. But the rebels, hearing of this, made up their quarrel, and returned to their obedience to the bishop as before; and this armament marched back to the duke of Burgundy.

END OF VOL. IX.

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NOTES AND EMENDATIONS.

PAGE 5. line 7. from the bottom. *Household.*] Charles lord de Culant and Chateauneuf, elder brother of the marshal de Jaloignes, mentioned p. 335, was appointed grandmaster of France in 1449.

Page 5. line 8. from the bottom. *Combatants.*] Florent, lord d'Illiers d'Entragues, was distinguished for valour, and for his great retinue at the siege of Orleans, and on several subsequent occasions. His father Geoffrey lord d'Illiers was grandson of Philip one of the sons of Bouchard lord of Vendôme, who married the heiress of the antient house of Illiers, and assumed his wife's family name on account of a stipulation in the marriage contract.

Page 18. last line. *Sir Thomas Hos.*] 2. Hoo. Sir Thomas Hoo, knight, in 1436 suppressed a rebellion in the Pays de Caux. In 1442 he obtained a grant of revenue from the crown in consideration of his great services in war. In 1448 he was created lord Hoo and Hastings,

and knight of the Garter, and was summoned to parliament from 26 H. 6 to 31 H. 6 inclusive. Thomas, his only son, died in his life time without issue.

Page 28. line 10. *Viscount de Longmaigne.*] Should be Lomagne.

Page 28. line 13. *John lord of Lorraine.*] John lord of Lorraine. Qu.

Page 31. line 12. *Roche-Guyon.*] Guy VII, lord de la Roche-Guyon, son of Guy VI, who was killed at Agincourt, and of Perette de la Riviere died in 1460, leaving issue one daughter only, who by marriage, conveyed Roche-Guyon to the house of Silli.

Page 35. last line. *Sir Richard Frongueval.*] Q. Freschevill; Sir Ralph Freschvill, who served under John of Gaunt in the wars of Edward III. left descendants.

Page 43. line 10. *Counts de Comminges.*] Matthiew, count of Comminges, one of the uncles to the count de Foix. (See note to page 334. vol. viii.)

Page 43. line 11. *Viscount de Lautrec.*] Peter lord of Lautrec, brother to the count of Foix (See note to vol. viii. p. 335.) married Catherine daughter to John II. lord d'Estarac (or Astarac) by whom he had one son, John afterwards lord de Lautrec. The house of Astarac is derived from Garcia-Sanches, duke of the Gascons, who lived in the 10th century, from whose youngest son, Arnaud

the unborn (so called by a quibble similar to that of the witches respecting Macduff), they trace 18 descents to Martha the heiress of the family who married Gaston II, count of Candale (or Kendal) in whose house the title afterwards remained.

Page 43. line 4. from the bottom. *Froissart.*] D'Estract. D'Estarac. See above.

Page 46. line 12. from the bottom. *Lord de Luce.*] Luxe is the name of a sovereign county in lower Navarre, which passed in 1593 into the house of Montmorency Fosseux. It was Francois de Montmorency, count of Luxe, of whom the court of Louis XIII. judged it proper to make a memorable example by way of preventive to the epidemical rage for duelling then prevalent. He was beheaded in 1627 for the honourable murders of the count de Thorigny and the marquis de Bussy in two successive rencontres.

Page 74. line 4. from the bottom. *Thomas Courson.*] Thomas Curzon, esq. captain of Harfleur. Stowe.

Page 77. line 13. *Chancellor of France.*] Afterwards also viscount of Troyes. He was chancellor from 1445 to 1461 and again from 1465 to 1472, when he died.

Page 94. line 10. *Thomas Aurmagan.*] Sir Thomas Auringham (qu. Erpingham?) Stowe. Captain of Harfleur in conjunction with Curzon.

Page 98. line 1. from the bottom. *Daughter.*] Monstrelet is remarkably tender of the reputation of the "fair Agnes." She had, as all other historians allow, not *one* only, but *three* daughters by the king. Margaret, married to Olivier de Coetivy, seneschal of Guyenne; Charlotte, married to James de Brezè, seneschal of Normandy, and Jane, to Antony de Bueil, count de Sancerre. Of these, Charlotte unfortunately followed the example of her mother's incontinence without the excuse of an illustrious lover. Her tragical history will be found recorded in the next volume.

By a species of retributive justice, Louis the son of this James de Brezè, submitted voluntarily to the same disgrace which his father thought that blood only could remove. *His* wife was the famous Diana of Poitiers. In these days, nobody of consequence could die in his bed without the suspicion of poison. The death of Agnes was attributed to that cause, and the dauphin is charged with having been the perpetrator. Of this accusation all that Du Clos says is what follows:

"Le peu d'union qu'il y avoit entre Charles sept et le Dauphin, fut cause que celui-ci fut soupçonné d'avoir fait empoisonner Agnés Sorel qui mourut, regrettée du Roi, de la Cour, et des Peuples. Elle n'abusa jamais de sa faveur, et réunit les rares qualités d'Amante tendre, d'Amie sure,

et de bonne Citoyenne." He adds, "I can't tell why Alain Chartier (the court poet) is so strenuous in defending her chastity, seeing that she died in child-bed." The dauphin was not the only person charged with this imaginary crime. Jacques Coeur, superintendant of the finances, was also accused of it; but his innocence was established by public trial. See note to page 196. vol. ix.

Page 113. line 7. from the bottom. *Godfrey de Boulogne.*] Lord of Montgascon.

Page 113. line 4. from the bottom. *Lord de St Severe.*] John de Brosse, lord of St Severe, afterwards count of Penthievre, &c., son of the marshal de Boussac. See before page 2.

Page 113. line 3. from the bottom. *Lord de Chalençon.*] Louis Armand de Chalençon, viscount of Polignac, married Isabel, second daughter of Bertrand III. lord of la Tour and his wife Mary countess of Auvergne and Boulogne.

Page 121. line 7. *Lord de Laval.*] Guy XIV., lord, and in 1429 count of Laval, son of John de Montford lord of Kergolay, who by his marriage with the sister and heir of Guy XII, became lord of Laval, assumed the name of Guy XIII, and died in his passage from the holy land in 1415. Guy XIV. married first, Isabel daughter of John VI. duke of Brittany, and secondly Frances the widow of the lord Giles, of whom see page 136. vol. ix.

Page 121. line 9. *Lord de Touteville.*] Qu. Estouteville. Louis, grand butler of France.

Page 133. line 4 from the bottom. *Maine.*] Charles of Anjou, count of Maine and Provence, mentioned before.

Page 128. line 10. from the bottom. *Duke of Somerset.*] Edmund Beaufort, younger brother of John duke of Somerset, (who died in 1444, leaving no male issue) was in 1431 made earl of Mortaigne (under which title he is named in some preceding parts of this history) earl of Dorset in 1442, marquis of Dorset the year following, and duke of Somerset in 1448. He was the great support of the Lancastrian party, and was beheaded after the fatal battle of Hexham in 1463.

Page 134. line 9. *Andrew Troslet.*] Andrew Trollope and Thomas Cotton, esquires, were captains of Falaise, for the earl of Shrewsbury, according to Stowe.

Page 136. line 5 from the bottom. *Death.*] Francis I. duke of Brittany, left two daughters by his second wife Isabel, daughter of James I. of Scotland. The eldest of these was Margaret, married to Francis II, her cousin; the youngest Mary, married to the viscount de Rohan. Francis I. was succeeded by his next brother, duke Peter II.

Page 133. line 3. *Arthur of Montauban.*] Arthur of Montauban, bailiff of the Cotentin,

&c. second son of William lord of Montauban, chancellor to queen Isabel of Bavaria. So far from being hanged, (which must be a mistake of the chronicle from which the following account has been taken) this Montauban having professed at the convent of the Celestins, at Marcoussis, advanced himself in the church, became archbishop of Bordeaux, and died in 1468. (See Moreri art. Montauban.)

Page 138. line 11. *Others*] This is perhaps, a more probable statement, as well as more favourable to the memory of the duke, than that given by some other chroniclers, and hinted at in the ensuing paragraph. The lord Giles of Brittany, the youngest of the children of John VI., was brought up in the court of England; and he was accused, perhaps justly, of having imbibed prejudices contrary to the French interest from his earliest years. On his return to Brittany in 1442, his wife, (the beautiful heiress of Chateaubriant and Beaumanoir) is said to have excited the desire of Arthur de Montauban, the wicked favourite at court; who, finding all attempts to subdue her chastity ineffectual, contrived by intrigues, insinuations, and at last by open charges, to render the lord Giles suspected by his brother. On the other hand, he stimulated that unfortunate prince to demand an extension of revenue and of power, which he took care the duke should deny him. The two brothers being by these arts

alienated from each other, an open rupture ensued, which the constable de Richemont, their uncle, in vain endeavoured to heal. The lord Giles, apprehensive for his personal safety, fled to the castle of Guildo; and most imprudently trusted its defence to a company of English men at arms. This circumstance was soon conveyed with all possible aggravation to the king of France, who thereupon gave orders to the admiral de Coetivy to arrest him. The admiral for some time neglected this order, but at last was obliged to perform it; and the lord Giles was brought before the parliament, or assembly of the states at Rennes, where his case was fairly investigated, and himself about to be honourably acquitted, when a letter to the king of England (said to be artfully forged by Montauban himself) was found on his person, and he was immediately committed to the castle of Moncontour. While a prisoner in this place, his persecutor resorted to every wicked contrivance to remove him without suspicion of violence. But his constitution resisted the effects of repeated poisons, and a charitable old woman found means long to preserve him from those of starvation. At length however his health gave way to the continual assault of his enemies, and he charged a priest (who attendant privately to receive his confessions) to repair to the duke his brother, and summon him within 40 days to appear before the tribunal of God

and answer for allhis in justice towards him. Still his gaolers thought the end of their charge too slow in its approaches. They therefore strangled their unhappy victim, already dying, and gave out to the world that he had died of a cold. He was at that time not thirty years of age. The confessor executed his commission as he met the duke returning from the siege of Avranches; and Francis, struck to the heart by terror and repentance, actually died on the 40th day from the date of the summons. Montauban and Olivier de Mêele, his principal agent in the murder, fled upon the duke's death, to a convent of Celestins; but they were both dragged from their sanctuary by the orders of duke Peter, and of the constable, and hanged at Vannes. Frances, the widow of the murdered prince, and the innocent cause of his death, brought him no children and was afterwards married again to Guy XIV, lord of Laval. Such is the account of some chronicles, as abridged by Moreri in his dictionary, art. Bretagne.

Page 139. line 10 from the bottom. *Sir Pregent de Coetivy, lord of Rais.*] Pregent de Coetivy, admiral of France, was lord of Retz in right of his wife, Mary the daughter of the marshal de Retz. (See before page 211. vol. viii.)

Page 140. line 12: *Thomas Gouvel.* 2.] Thomas Gonville, esq. captain of Cherbourg. Stowe.

Page 160. line 11 from the bottom. *Captal de Buch.*] Gaston, count of Longueville and Benanges, second son of Archambaud count of Foix, enjoyed this title and transmitted it to his son John, who married a niece of the great William de la Pole duke of Suffolk, and was created by king Henry VI. earl of Kendal.

Page 160. line 6. *La Bessiere.*] Descended from a younger son of Matthew, lord of Beauvau, who died about 1400. He was killed soon afterwards at the siege of Castillon.

Page 163. line 4 from the bottom. *Count d'Albreth.*] Charles II. count of Dreux, &c. of the house of Albret, son of the constable; John viscount of Tartas, his eldest son, (who died before his father, leaving Alan, lord Albret, his only son and heir) and Arnaud Amanjeu, lord of Orval, his third son, afterwards lieutenant general for the king in Roussillon. The second son of the count, was Louis cardinal bishop of Cahors.

Page 168. line 7 from the bottom. *Viscount de Turenne.*] Agne III. de la Tour, lord of Oliergues, of a younger branch of the family of la Tour counts of Auvergne, &c. became viscount of Turenne and count of Beaufort, in 1444, by marriage with Anne, daughter of Peter count of Beaufort, who possessed those dignities by the donation of his cousin Eleanor, heiress of the famous marshal Boucicaut.

Page 168. line 21. *Lord de la Rochefoucault.*] Foucault III, lord de la Rochefoucault who married the sister of the lord of Rochechouart.

Page 168. line 23. *Sir John de Rochedrouard.*] Rochedrouard. Q. Rochechouart? Foucault, lord of Rochechouart was about this time governor of la Rochelle.

Page 168. line 5 from the bottom. *Lord de Grimaux*] Grimaux. Qu. Grimoard? Antoine du Roure lord of Grimoard, and Guige de Grimoard de Roure, lord of Beauvoir in the Gevaudan, were the heads of two distant branches of this family.

Page 168. line 4 from the bottom. *Sir Pierre de Montingrin.*] Montingrin. Q. Montmorin? Peter lord of Montmorin, bailiff of S. Pierre le Moustier, and a chamberlain of the king, was one of the knights made on his occasion.

Page 181. line 16. *Lord de Noailles.*] Francis, lord of Noailles and Noaillac, who died after the year 1472, had but one brother of whom Moreri, makes mention, viz. John de Noailles lord of Chambres and Montclar, who became also lord de Noailles after the death of his nephew, the son of Francis, in 1479.

Page 190. line 8. *Emperor Frederic.*] The emperor Frederic III. married to Eleanor, eldest daughter of Edward king of Portugal. Their

only issue were Maximilian, afterwards emperor, and Cunegunda married to Albert duke of Bavaria.

Page 197 line 12. *Realm.*] Jacques Coeur son of a merchant at Bourges, whose enterprising commercial genius raised for him within a short time a prodigious fortune. The ignorance of the age attributed his success to the discovery of the philosopher's stone. He was made *Argentier*, that is to say, *superintendant of the finances*, to Charles VII. and master of the mint at Bourges. Through his influence his son obtained the archbishoprick of his native city, and his brother the bishoprick of Luçon. The conquest of Normandy was atchieved, in great measure, by the sums which he supplied out of his private purse. All these services did not guard him against the consequences of malevolence and envy. Besides the accusations here mentioned, he was charged with having procured the death of Agnes Sorel by poison. but although his principal accuser on this point, Jane de Vendôme, lady of Mortagne, was condemned to perpetual banishment for her calumny, which was fully proved, Jacques Coeur did not escape from the charges of peculation, &c. which were probably equally unjust with the former. He was condemned, chiefly, as was supposed, through the influence of Anthony de Chabannes count of Dammartin, the court favourite of the time, who certainly enriched himself considerably by his fall. By a decree

of the 19th of May, 1453, he was amerced n a sum of 400,000 crowns, equal, says Du Clos, to 4,228,360 livres tournois of his time. "On prétend, peut-être sans fondement, que Jacques Coeur, après sa condamnation, passa dans l'Isle de Chypre, où son crédit, son habileté, et sa reputation, que ses malheurs n'avoient point ternie, lui firent faire une fortune aussi considérable que celle qu'il venoit de perdre." Du Clos.

Page 204. line 5 from the bottom. *Thibaut and James.*] Thibaud, second son of Peter, and brother of Louis, count of St Pol, was lord of Fiennes, and married Philippa of the house of Melún. James, the third brother, was lord of Richebourg, and married Isabel de Roubaix.

Page 204. line 4 from the bottom. *Duke Cornille.*] This is falsely stopped. It should run this, "Adolphus of Cleves, nephew to the duke Corneille, bastard of Burgundy; and sir John de Croy." Cornelius, the eldest of the numerous illegitimate progeny of duke Philip, died unmarried, but left a bastard son, John lord of Delverding. See the genealogical tables affixed to Pontus Heuterus.

Page 212. line 3 from the bottom. *Sir Philip de Lalain.*] Afterwards killed at Montlehery.

Page 213. line 3. *Sir James.*] Killed soon after at the siege of the castle of Poulcres, p. 262.

Page 213. line 17. *Bastard de Cornille.*] Not

the bastard de Cornille, but "Corneille the bastard." See before p. 204.

Page 214. line 11. *Lord de Fiennes.*] Brother of the count of St Pol. See before p. 204 note.

Page 244. line 7. *Sir Anthony the bastard.*] Anthony, second of the illegitimate sons of duke Philip, by Iolante de Presle, was lord of Beveren, and married Mary de Viefville, by whom he had two sons the lords of Vere and of Chapelle, and from these followed a long line of descendants. See Pontus Heuterus, genealogical tables.

Page 259. line 16. *Lord de Rubempré.*] Anthony, lord of Rubempré, a great favourite of Philip duke of Burgundy, married Jacqueline de Croy lady of Bievres, daughter of John lord de Croy, grand butler of France, by whom he had issue John de Rubempré lord of Bievres, who was strongly attached to duke Charles, and perished by his side at the battle of Nancy.

Page 260. line 3 from the bottom. *Dormnast.*] Qu. Dommart? Anthony de Craon, lord of Dommart, son of James lord of Dommart and Jane des Fosseux, was laid under confiscation by Louis XI, for his adherence to the duke of Burgundy.

Page 262. line 4 from the bottom. *Dead.*] See vol. vii. p. 130. James lord of Lalain, killed at this siege, was the eldest son of William lord de Lalain there mentioned. He was succeeded

in his title and estates by his next brother, John who sold Lalain to Josse the son of Simon lord of Montigny, younger brother of the lord William. Philip, the third son of William, was killed at the battle of Montlehery; and Anthony, the 4th son, lost his life in Switzerland, both under the command of duke Charles the bold, so that there is no want of foundation for the honourable testimony given by Comines to the merits of the family.

Page 267. line 17. *Sir John de Hout.*] Q. Sir John Holt?

Page 291. line 17. *Sir Adolphus of Cleves.*] Son of the duke of Cleves, and often mentioned before. He was lord of Ravestein, and not only nephew, but also son-in-law to the duke of Burgundy, having married Anne, one of his bastard daughters, the lady of Ravestein mentioned below.

Page 299. line 9. *La Marche.*] Louis de Puy, lord of Coudraimorlin, baron of Bellefaye, &c. son of Geoffry du Puy who was killed at Agincourt. He married a daughter of Antoine de' Prie, lord of Buzancais, before mentioned.

Page 299. line 15. *Lord de Montauban.*] See before, note to p. 133.

Page 303. line 4. *Sir Hedoual Haul.*] Sir Edward Hull. Stowe.

Page 303. line 14. *The lord l'Isle.*] The

children of the great lord Talbot were, by his first marriage with Maud Neville, three sons, viz. Thomas, who died in his life time; John who succeeded him as earl of Shrewsbury, &c.; and sir Christopher Talbot, knight. By his second marriage with Margaret daughter of Richard Beauchamp earl of Warwick, he had John (viscount l'Isle, so created in reference to the titles of his mother's family), who being already signalized by his valour on many great occasions, fell gloriously, together with his father on this day. He served with two bannerets, 4 knights, 73 men at arms, and 800 archers. He left issue Thomas Viscount l'Isle who, in 1470, was slain in a private feud with the lord Berkeley, at Wotton-under-edge in Staffordshire.

Page 303. line 8. *Prisoner.*] William lord Molyns, who was killed before Orleans in 1429, left only a daughter, who was married to Robert Hungerford, esq. grandson of Walter lord treasurer Hungerford, in 1441. This Robert Hungerford, lord Molins in right of his wife, was eldest son to Robert lord Hungerford, son of Walter, and served in this year (1453) with one banneret, 2 knights, 56 men at arms, and 600 archers. He remained a prisoner for seven years, after which, siding with the Lancastrians, he was attainted 1 Edw. 4. and beheaded after the battle of Hexham, two years afterwards.

Page 304. line 1. *Count de Candale.*] John Captal de Buche, (see before p. 160.) was created earl of Kendal by king Henry VI.; and his descendants retained the title metamorphosed into that of *Candale*) for several generations after they had submitted to the crown of France.

Page 306. line 12. *Lord de Lavedan.*] Probably, Raymon-Garcias, lord of Lavedan, who married Bellegarde daughter of Arsien V, lord of Montesquieu.

Page 310. line 10. *Lord Camoise.*] Probably, Camois. The male line of this *barony* was extinct in the time of Henry V; but Dugdale adds, "of this family (without doubt) was also sir Roger de Camoise knight, who in 22 H. 6 (1444) was taken prisoner in the wars of France, and there detained in great misery. Whereupon, Isabel his wife, had an assignation of 40l. per annum for her life, to be paid by the mayor and commonalty of the city of London." Qu. Is this the same sir Roger de Camois, released from captivity?

Page 310. line 20. *Lord Clinton.*] William, lord Clinton, (cousin and heir of John lord Clinton, who distinguished himself, on the expedition of Thomas Woodstock, 1380, and is noticed by Froissart) was in all the wars of Henry IV, V, and VI; in 4 H. 6 he served in France with 25 men at arms and 78 archers, in 9 H. 6 with one knight 38

men at arms and 300 archers. He died 10 H. 6 (1432) leaving his son and heir, John lord Clinton, the nobleman here mentioned; who was made prisoner in the year 1441, and after remaining in prison for six years, was ransomed at the sum of 6000 marks. He afterwards took part with the house of York during the civil wars and served king Edward in many of his expeditions. Dugdale.

Page 332. last line. *Sagripoch.*] Q. Salonichi.

Page 332. last line. *John Waiwoda.*] Q. John Corvinus Hunniades, Waivode of Transylvania; who is also, most probably the person meant by "le Blanc, knight marshal of Hungary," in the following chapter.

Page 335. line 7. *Sambrine.*] If in a narrative so full of confusion and so crowded with errors, it is allowable to form a conjecture that may tend to reconcile it any degree with fact, I should suppose this knight marshal to be the great Hunniades, and the action to refer to the famous siege of Belgrade which was raised by the exertions of that heroic general. John Corvinus Hunniades was of ignoble birth, the son of a Wallachian father by a Greek mother; so far the account of Monstrelet tallies with the reality. He was appointed by king Ladislaus to the government of upper Hungary, and the command in chief of his armies. The operations for the relief of Belgrade were carried on by a fleet on the Danube, as well as by land; so that

the mistake is natural enough, of calling the place a port; unless, from the greater similitude of name, the reader should prefer *Zarna*, (to which Mahomet afterwards retreated) as the representation of *Sambrina*. See Bonfinius Rer. Ungar.

Page 337. last line. *Hecuba.*] Rather I should imagine, Hesione.

Page 347. line 12. *Sir Guillot Destan.*] This should be d'Esteing or d'Estaing, the name of a very ancient and noble family in Rouergue. William the second son of John I. viscount d'Esteing et de Cheilane, was distinguished in the English wars, and rewarded by the government of Rouergue, and by the posts of counsellor and chamberlain to king Charles VII. His will bears date 1471. His grandson, William d'Estaing, succeeded to the possessions of the elder branch of the family about A. D. 1500, and became ancestor of the counts of Estaing of later date.

Page 348. line 14. from the bottom. *Gloucester.*] There was *no* duke of Gloucester at this time; for Humphrey duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, died under arrest, in the year 1447, and Richard third son of the duke of York, was not created till the 1st of Edw. IV. Stow in ann. 1454.—"The duke of Yorke with his friends wrought so effectually, and handled his busines so politikly, that the duke of Somerset was arrested

in the queenes great chamber, and sent to the Tower, where he kept his Christmas without great solemnity, against whom in open parliament, were laid divers articles, beginning thus, &c."

Page 348. line 9 from the bottom. *Duke Charles of Bourbon.*] On the 13th of November. She was already his first cousin, being daughter of duke Charles by Agnes, sister of Philip the good. Her name was Isabella.

Page 348. line 4 from the bottom. *Prince.*] John II. king of Castile, &c. succeeded his father Henry III. in the year 1406, and died 1454. By his first wife, Mary of Arragon, he had one son, Henry IV. his successor. By his second marriage with Isabella of Portugal, he had a son Alphonso, who died without issue, and a daughter, Isabella, who succeeded her half brother, Henry, and, by her marriage with Ferdinand of Arragon, united the two principal crowns of Spain.

Page 350. line 4. *Duchy.*] "Whilest king Henry lay sick, Ric. d. of Yorke bare all the rule, and governed as regent, and did now discover the sparkes of his hatred hid under dissimulation, against the duke of Somerset; but when the king had recovered his strength again, and resumed to him his princely government, he caused the duke of Somerset to be sett at libertye, and preferred him to be captain of Calais, wherewith not only the commons, but many of the nobility, favorers

of Richard duke of Yorke, were greatly grieved and offended, saying, that he had lost Normandy, and would lose also Calais." *Stow*, ub. sup.

Page 355. line 6. *Bishop of Utrecht.*] Adolphus of Diepenholt. Upon his death, the electors being solicited on one side by this duke for his son David, and on the other by the duke of Gueldres for Stephen of Bavaria, in order to offend neither exasperated both, by chusing Guisbert, a brother of Reginald lord of Brederode, for their bishop. But, upon endeavouring to get their election confirmed by the pope, they found themselves anticipated by the duke, who had already obtained the papal sanction in favour of his son. The matter was afterwards compromised as related in chapter LXV. and David held the bishoprick of Utrecht for forty years. [Heuterus.]

Page 360. line 3. *Kingdom.*] This battle is called by the English historians the first battle of St Alban's, and was fought on the 22d of May 1455. Besides Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, and Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, there were slain, on the king's side two lords, five knights, and many gentlemen of good account. Humphrey duke of Buckingham, and his son Humphrey earl of Stafford were wounded besides the king. The victory, as appears by the text, was decisive in favour of opposition.

The duke of Somerset left issue (by his wife Eleanor, daughter of Richard Beauchamp earl of Warwick) Henry duke of Somerset, beheaded in May 1464; Edward duke of Somerset after the death of his brother, also beheaded 1472, and John, killed at Tewkesbury, but none of these left any legitimate descendants. Henry alone left an illegitimate son, Charles Somerset, who was afterwards created earl of Worcester, and is the ancestor of the present duke of Beaufort.

Page 362, line 9. *Season.*] The relation which follows, is evidently that of the famous siege of Belgrade; at which Huniades commanded, and Capistranus acted as his lieutenant. The soldan of Persia here mentioned, may very possibly mean the bashaw of Asia Minor (Basseus Asiaticus) who is spoken of by Bonfinius as having a high command in the Turkish army. He was killed in the siege. Huniades was attacked by a fever, the consequence of his exertions, and with difficulty removed as far as Semlin, where he died on the 4th of September 1456. His faithful companion, Johannes Capistranus, attended at his bed-side during his last illness, and supported him at the moment of his dissolution. His affection followed him beyond the tomb, for from that hour he was never seen to smile; and, not many weeks after, was summoned from the world himself. The great

Huniades left two sons, Ladislaus and Matthias Corvinus. The first, though deserving of a better fate, became the victim of state intrigues, and perished on a scaffold. The second was elected king of Hungary in 1458.

Page 365. line 16. *Battle.*] This does not appear to have been the case. Bonfinius calls his disorder a fever brought on by excessive fatigue. See before.

Page 368. line 2. *Laurentino. Q.*] Perhaps Larina, the name of a town in the Molise.

Page 368. line 8 from the bottom. *Ancona. 2.*] This is hardly probable, for all the others are names of places in the Molise or one of the Principati. *Macchia* has the nearest resemblance in sound of any town in this neighbourhood.

Page 368. line 2 from the bottom. *Sanguine. 2.*] Castel del Sangro, in Abruzzo? The river on which it stands is also called the Sanguine.

Page 369. line 10 from the bottom. *Sermone. 2.*] Isernia, a bishopric in the Molise? or Sulmona, another city in Abruzzo?

Page 369. line 9. *Oliveto. 2.*] Alifi, in the Terra di Lavoro?

Page 371. line 14. *Duke and Duchess of Savoy.*] Lewis, duke of Savoy, (son of Amadeus the first duke) and Anne de Lusignan, daughter of James, king of Cyprus. The prince of Piedmont was their son, Amadeus afterwards duke of Savoy, the second duke, and ninth

count, of the name. By this marriage with Yolande of France, he had a numerous issue, but no descendants in the third generation.

Page 371. line 5 from the bottom. *Duchy of Nemours.*] This claim of Charles of Navarre, prince of Viana to the duchy of Nemours, must have been grounded on a grant made by king Charles VII. to his grandfather Charles the noble, king of Navarre; which grant was held to have been only personal, and to have terminated with the death of the donee. The prince was therefore unsuccessful in his application.

Page 371. line 2 from the bottom. *St Vincent.*] This saint is not the ancient deacon and martyr of that name, but St Vincent Ferrier a Dominican, of Valencia in Spain, and a great converter of Saracens and worker of miracles. He died in 1419, and was canonized by order of pope Calixtus in 1455. He was buried at Vannes; the place of his death, and the miracles which were *attested* to have been wrought on his tomb, were the occasion of the distinguished honours conferred on him.

Page 375. line 3 from the bottom. *Duke of Gueldres.*] Arnold of Egmont duke of Gueldres, was married to Catherine, daughter of Adolphus, duke of Cleves, by Mary, a sister of the duke of Burgundy. In the note to p. 355. a sufficient reason will be found for his hostility, of which, however, Heuterus takes no notice, say-

ing only, that the matters in dispute with the Deventrians and Frieslanders were settled through the intervention of the duke of Cleves.

Page 378. last line. *John Corvin.*] If so, then le Chevalier Blanc could not mean Huniades, since he is already disposed of in p. 362. The truth is, that nothing can exceed the confusion and misrepresentation with which Monstrelet's accounts from these distant countries abound; and it is labour lost to attempt at finding a meaning where there probably never was any. Capistran, who is mentioned in the next page, died also immediately after, or very soon upon his friend Huniades. I rather suspect that this is a mere repetition of the preceding account, as the reader will find the relation of the embassy in chapter LXIX. repeated again in chapter LXXI. Probably towards the conclusion of his history Monstrelet set down events without order or method, as he heard them in conversation or otherwise, and did not live to arrange the unconnected notes.

Page 385. line 2 from the bottom. *Him.*] The motive assigned by Heuterus for this extraordinary display of friendship in the duke towards the dauphin, is the hope "that this young prince, bound by the *immensity* of the obligation, would, on his accession to the throne, be the firm friend of his son Charles, and of

the Belgian states. But, adds the historian, it is in vain that benefits are heaped on men of a depraved disposition, as king Charles himself prophecied in the following words. You know not, duke Philip, the nature of this savage animal. You cherish a wolf who will one day tear your sheep to pieces. Remember the fable of the countryman, who in compassion to a viper which he found half frozen in the fields, brought it to his house, and warmed it by his fireside, till it turned round and hissed at its preserver." (Heuterus.)

Page 386. line 6. *Count of St Pol.*] Thibaut de Luxembourg, lord of Fiennes, younger son of Peter I. count of Brienne and St Paul, married Philippa of Melun, daughter of John lord of Antoing, by whom he had issue James lord of Fiennes, and count of Gaure, &c. Philip, cardinal, and bishop of Mans, Francis viscount of Martigues, and several daughters. It may be doubtful from what motive he embraced the ecclesiastical profession, since a life of poverty was certainly not included in his intention. He was made bishop of Mans and abbot of Igni and Orcan and was prevented by death from wearing the cardinal's hat, which was designed for him by pope Sixtus IV. 1st September, 1477.

Page 387. line 13. *Duke of Burgundy.*] Charles duke of Bourbon, by his marriage

with Agnes of Burgundy, daughter of John the Fearless, had a numerous issue, of whom the eldest succeeded to his duchy by the title of John the Second, and was surnamed the good. Of the other children, Charles was archbishop of Clermont; Lewis, bishop of Liege; Peter was duke of Bourbon after the death of his brother, John II. His five daughters were married respectively to the dukes of Calabria, Burgundy, Gueldres, Savoy, and the prince of Orange.

Page 388. line 12. *Lord de Quievrain.*] Philip de Croy, lord of Quievrain, eldest son of John count of Chimay.

Page 388. line 13. *Lord d'Aymeries.*] Anthony de Rollin, lord of Aymeries. A particular account of this dispute is given by Heuterus, by which it appears that Monstrelet's statement is very correct.

Page 390. line 5 from the bottom. *Safety.*] In vol. x. chapter XV. the very same accident which is here made to befal the dauphin, is also recorded to have happened to the count de Charolois when hunting with the dauphin after his accession to the throne. Qu. Has not Monstrelet made the two stories out of one?

Page 392. last line. *Horse.*] Ant. Bonfinius, in his Decades, says nothing of the archbishop of Cologne, but mentions, as at the head of this embassy, the bishop of Passau.

Udalricus Pataviensium Pontifex, opibus, auctoritate, moribus, et doctrinâ præcellens." He says that it was by far the most magnificent embassy remembered in his time, and that out of Hungary, Bohemia and Austria, and the bishopric of Passau, there were chosen seven hundred noblemen to attend it, such as "qui formâ, habitu, nobilitate, apparatuque polleret, et quisque regno dignus videretur." The greatest expectations were entertained on the subject of this projected alliance, and the preparations made for celebrating it at the imperial court exceeded every thing of the kind before known. In the midst of these preparations, Ladislaus, then only twenty-two years of age, and a young man of the most promising character and attainments, was taken suddenly ill while presiding at an assembly of the states, with symptoms, as it is stated, of the plague, according to others, of poison; and he lived but thirty-six hours after. Dying without issue, George Podiebrad was elected by the states of Bohemia, and the great Matthias Corvinus by those of Hungary, to succeed him in his respective dominions.

Page 396. line 5 from the bottom. *Count de Maulévrier.*] This nobleman is called, by Stow, sir Pierce Bressy, captain of Dieppe. The same historian mentions that a second division of this expedition sailed to the coast of Corn-

wall and burned the town of Fowey, under the command of William lord de Pomyars.

Page 398. line 7. *Galiot de Genouillac.*] James Ricard de Genouillac, called *Galiot*, lord of Brussac, &c. master of artillery in 1479, seneschal of Beaucare in 1480, son of Peter Ricard lord of Gourdon, and brother of John Ricard lord of Gourdon, and of John Ricard lord of Acier en Quercy. This last lord had a son who was also called *Galiot*, and distinguished himself at the battle of Fornova and upon other occasions.

Page 402. last line. *Earl of Warwick.*] This is Richard Nevil, the kingmaker, who, and his father the earl of Salisbury, were now the principal supports of the York, or opposition, party. Richard Nevil the father was brother of Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland, and became earl of Salisbury by marriage with Alice, only daughter and heir of Montacute earl of Salisbury, who was killed at the siege of Orleans. Richard Nevil, the son, married Anne, sister of Henry Beauchamp duke of Warwick, and king of the Isle of Wight, and heir by descent from her father to the earldom, which was conveyed by marriage to her husband.

Page 408. line 14. *Together.*] This marriage was contracted by the dauphin without the consent of his father, who prevented the young couple from coming together for five years after they were betrothed to each other. Their

union was at last brought about by the duke of Burgundy, who sent the lord of Montagu into Savoy, to bring away the princess. She, it is added, was very ready to obey the mandate, and the solemnity was shortly after concluded with great pomp at Namur. This transaction by no means tended to reconcile the Duke to his son. [See Vanderburch, Hist. Principum Sabaudonum.]

Page 405. line 15. *Bishop of Coutance.*] Qu. Coûtances?

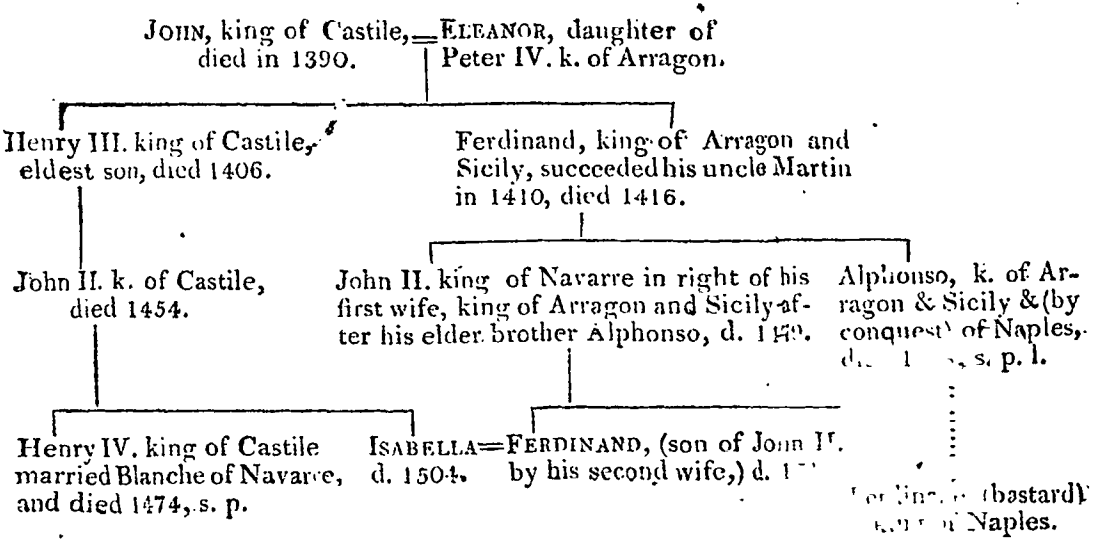
Page 413. line 13. *So.*] See a particular account of this strange ceremony of swearing on the peacock, or pheasant, in M. de St. Palaye's Memoires sur l'Ancienne Chivalerie.

Page 415. line 4 from the bottom. *Duchy.*] In right of his mother, Elizabeth duchess of Austria. See the genealogical table and note in the present vol.

Page 416. line 15. *Duchess of Burgundy.*] John duke of Coimbra, son of Peter, brother of Edward king of Portugal. He married Charlotte, only daughter and heir of John III. king of Cyprus; but it seems to be a mistake of Monstrelet's, where he calls her the widowed queen. She survived the duke of Coimbra, and married for her second husband Lewis prince of Savoy. The crown of Cyprus was usurped by James; the bastard son of John III. and never enjoyed either by Charlotte

herself or by either of her husbands. Isabella, duchess of Burgundy, was sister of Edward king of Portugal and of Peter duke of Coimbra.

Page 424. line 11. *Naples.*] This great prince was succeeded in his hereditary dominions of Arragon and Sicily by his brother John, who was already king of Navarre in right of his queen, Blanche the daughter of Charles the third. Alphonso claimed the right of conquest in disposing of his kingdom of Naples in favour of his bastard, Ferdinand. The succession of Arragon and Castile, and union of crowns in the person of Ferdinand, the catholic, will be easily comprehended by the following table.


John, king of Castile, died in 1390.
Eleanor, daughter of Peter IV. k. of Arragon.
Henry III. king of Castile, eldest son, died 1406.
Ferdinand, king of Arragon and Sicily, succeeded his uncle Martin in 1410, died 1416.
John II. k. of Castile, died 1454.
John II. king of Navarre in right of his first wife, king of Arragon and Sicily after his elder brother Alphonso, d. 1
Alphonso, k. of Arragon & Sicily &(by conquest) of Naples, d. 1 s. p. l.
Henry IV. king of Castile married Blanche of Navarre, and died 1474, s. p.
Isabella=Ferdinand, (son of John II. by his second wife,) d. 1
(bastard) of Naples.

Page 435. line 3. *Bastard d'Armagnac.*] John d'Armagnac, lord of Gourdon, bastard son of John IV. count of Armagnac, and brother by the same mother of another John d'Armagnac, called also de Lescun archbishop of Auch. He was advanced by the dauphin, after he became king, to several high offices of trust and favour, and was made marshal of France in 1461. He married Margaret, daughter of Louis I. marquis de Saluces, by whom he had one daughter, married into the house of Amboise, and died A. D. 1472.

Page 435. line 14 from the bottom. *Marshal of Burgundy.*] Thibault the ninth marshal of Burgundy and bailiff of Franche Comté. He died in 1469, leaving by Bona of Châteauvilain his wife, Thibault lord of Hericourt, who died without issue, and Henry lord de Neufchâtel, who was made prisoner at the battle of Nancy, and died in 1503, and he was brother of John de Neufchâtel, lord of Montagu. This lordship of Neufchâtel in Burgundy must be carefully distinguished from the county of Neufchâtel in Switzerland, with which it had no connection whatever.

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